April
182

A

HISTORY

OF THE

WEST INDIES,

CONTAINING THE

NATURAL, CIVIL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL

History of each Island:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

MISSIONS

INSTITUTED IN THOSE ISLANDS, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THEIR CIVILIZATION;

BUT MORE ESPECIALLY OF THE

MISSIONS

WHICH HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THAT ARCHIPELAGO

BY THE SOCIETY

Late in Connexion with the Rev. John Wesley.

By THOMAS COKE, LL.D.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

AND TO BE HAD OF THE REV. MR. BLANCHARD,
14, CITY ROAD.

1810.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

JAMAICA

(Concluded).

CHAP. XVI.

Progress of the Mission on the repeal of the colonial law.—Pleasing prospect in various quarters.—Restrictive orders in contemplation.—Ordinance passed.—Effects resulting from this measure.—Copy of the Ordinance.—Copy of a law prohibiting slaves from attending public worship, or receiving any instructions from Missionaries.—Imprisonment of Mr. Gilgrass, one of the Missionaries.—Trial, sentence, and punishment of Mr. Gilgrass.—Spirit of persecution.—Preaching altogether prevented.—Application to the throne for redress.—Persecuting law repealed.—Loyalty due both from principle and interest.

THE repeal of that colonial law which imprisoned Mr. Campbell and Mr. Williams, and finally drove the former from the island, established the professors of religion in the possession of those privileges which they had previously enjoyed. These availed themselves of the returning favor, and, with gratitude to their God, and to their sovereign, began with renewed vigor to spread among the heathens the unsearchable riches of Christ. The spirit of hearing that had been suppressed, but not destroyed, during the time of persecution, revived with the occasion; and an increase of the congregations, a seriousness of attention, and a spread of the word, were the immediate consequences. The Missionaries were now invited to many places from which they had been before expelled; the people of Mon-

tego Bay began to wish for that gospel which they had previously despised, and Morant Bay was no longer forbidden ground.

To the latter of these places Mr. Bradnock repaired, as soon as liberty was obtained. Here he preached to a people who had been greatly discouraged, but who had held fast the beginning of their confidence with greater steadfastness than might have been expected from the embarrassing circumstances under which they had labored. The pleasing prospects which Mr. Bradnock saw before him, induced him to use exertions to complete in this place a chapel which had been already begun. The people to whom he applied for assistance, were liberal beyond expectation; several unexpected donations were transmitted from England; and a train of such favorable circumstances concurred, as seemed to promise, under the Divine blessing, an assurance of success.

From this place Mr. Bradnock endeavored to extend his labors, by visiting some towns and plantations to which he could previously hardly hope for access. "I bless God," he observes, "that I only wish to live for his glory and the good of souls. Mr. Gilgrass, my colleague, informs me, that all things are still going on well in Kingston. By the last calculation which I made when in town, I found an increase of nearly two hundred members since my arrival, which is not more than twelve months since. But what pleases me still more, is the deepening of the work in many hearts; so that, though we have been constrained to expel many who walked disorderly, I hope we shall have a good work in the island after all our oppositions."

The first place in the country to which Mr. B. repaired, was on the northern side, in the parish of St. Mary's, about twenty-six miles from Kingston. Here he was kindly received by a few individuals, whose attachment to the gospel had repeatedly urged them to repair to the towns for the purpose of hearing its truths delivered. These were rejoiced above measure at his arrival; and, in conjunction with their neighbors, appeared ripe for the sacred doctrines which he came to impart. With them he continued about five days with much satisfaction, and then proceeded twelve miles further, to an estate which he had been solicited to visit. Here he preached to about fifty negroes, to many of whom his word was attended with remarkable effects. On the following day nearly double the number attended, and the preaching of the word was accompanied with still more

evident displays of the divine power. Many were awakened, several fell to the ground in the utmost distress, and after "roaring aloud for the disquietude of their souls," were set at liberty, and enabled to rejoice in the God of their salvation.

From hence he proceeded about ten miles further, and reaching the parish of St. Andrew's, found an asylum in the house of a lady, whose heart had been so influenced by divine grace, that she would have thought herself honored by being permitted to wash the disciples' feet. Here the congregation was not large; but those who heard, supplied by their seriousness their deficiency in number. About three miles further, he stayed for a short season, and preached to an attentive but not numerous people: the word appeared to sink deeply into their hearts; and some among them had travelled nearly twelve miles, to hear again those truths which had been delivered to them in the parish of St. Mary.

After a short interval, Mr. B. went forward to Manchioneal, a place about seventy miles from Kingston. On his journey thither, he was treated wtth the utmost kindness by the people at whose houses he lodged, and with attention and much respect on his arrival. In this place, preaching had been attempted on former occasions, but little or no success had attended the word. At present, the congregation did not exceed fifty, and these were rather careless than devout. Unhappily, the means of grace had been so long placed beyond their reach, that even Christianity had lost its importance; and the charms of the present world had nearly obliterated all the horrors and glories of another. At this time, there was no public worship within thirty miles of the villages; and, consequently, there was no one to put them in remembrance of their latter end. Six persons, who seemed desirous to flee from the wrath to come, were here formed into a little society, and requested not to neglect the assembling of themselves together. But no permanent assistance could be rendered to them, arising from the peculiarity of their situation, and those other engagements which occupied the attention of the Missionaries. Mr. Bradnock having, therefore, exhorted them to continue in the grace of God, took his leave for the present, and returned to Kingston.

In this place the word of God ran and was glorified. Mr. Gilgrass had labored with unwearied diligence during the absence of Mr. B. and many were brought nigh unto God through his instrumentality. "I am happy," says Mr.

B., " to observe, that Mr. G. and myself are united in our labors both in town and in the country. He is now gone out on the same round from which I have lately returned, and I believe he will be made very useful. My prospects of the rising generation, of which I formerly gave you some account, have far exceeded expectation. I have a class of eighteen; and thirteen of these enjoy peace. Our Sunday School also affords much ground for hope. Our numbers at Morant Bay are two whites, and ninety-five colored people and blacks, forty-three of whom have joined the society since December last; and of these thirteen enjoy peace through believing. At Irish-town we have thirty-eight, in St. Mary's thirty-four, St. Andrew's thirteen, Manchioneal six, and in Kingston twenty-two whites, and six hundred and twenty-two colored people and blacks. These are in addition to twenty-six who have died, and twenty-four who have been expelled since our last returns. Our total numbers at present in town and country are twenty-four whites, and eight hundred and eight colored people and blacks; so that our increase within the last twelve months has been full three hundred." The letter from which the above extracts have been taken was dated April 26th, 1806.

In the month of August, of the same year, the letters which were transmitted bore the same pleasing appearances which we have just surveyed. The friends of Christ were enabled to hold up their heads and worship God, none legally daring to interrupt them; and those who wished their downfal and extirpation were obliged to stifle in silence that enmity which rankled in their hearts. At this time the harvest was plenteous, but the laborers were few. The places which Mr. Bradnock had visited, were still as open as before, and the people anxiously waited for his return. Here many were hungering and thirsting after righteousness, without knowing how they should be filled; of which the following letter will afford us a specimen. It is dated the 23d of Sept. 1806, and was written by a private gentleman, and addressed to the Author.

" About ten days ago, I had some serious conversation with Mr. Bradnock, who gave me great hopes that he would soon pay us a visit on the north side; but he is now ill, and I am afraid I shall never have the honor or the pleasure of seeing him there. They are in great want of laborers in this part of the island; but, my dear Sir, we are really in a pitiable situation at Falmouth and Montego Bay. I hope you will take us into consideration, and do all in your power to send us a minister. One might supply both places

for the present, till another can be spared, as from Falmouth to Montego Bay is only a pleasant ride of twenty-two miles. Myself and family have resided at Falmouth nearly six years; and I have not the smallest doubt that the gospel would spread if we had a pious minister."

As the year drew towards a close, the congregations both at Kingston and Morant Bay grew larger, and more attentive; and those who belonged to the society appeared in earnest for the salvation of their souls. This was evident from their punctual attendance on all the means of grace, and ardent zeal for the glory of God. "The society in Kingston," says Mr. Gilgrass, "is the most devoted: we have here many precious souls who are enabled to rejoice in God their Saviour, and whose hearts are warm with divine love. Many young persons have joined us of late, most of whom are in good earnest, and promising fair for the kingdom of heaven. Our congregations greatly increase with both whites and colored people of respectability. These give great attention; and, therefore, we have reason to hope, that God will soon lay hold of some of their souls. In St. Andrew's, the work is going forward. We hear of none going back, but of many turning to the Lord. One of our local brethren told me, that when he preached there, sixteen gave in their names who seemed desirous to serve God. St. Mary's is much the same, but, probably, would have been far better if we could have attended to the wishes of the people. But the cause of their being neglected was from God; and it is our duty, our happiness, and our honor, to submit to his dispensations, though they are afflictive.* Undoubtedly, either here or hereafter, we shall know and see through all these mysteries, to our eternal felicity. I am in expectation of visiting these places very shortly——as soon as Mr. B. returns. He is now at Morant Bay, and has been there for two or three weeks; but, thank God, he is much recovered.

"Irish-town is much as usual; I think, on the whole, rather on the increase. The last time Mr. B. and I were there, we had reason to believe that the members of the society were growing in grace. The state of Morant Bay is not

* This expression alludes to the indisposition of Mr. Bradnock, whose illness was spoken of in a former letter. The fever under which he labored, had constrained him at this time to retire from Kingston on account of the air.

so well as we could wish, our long absence having operated to its disadvantage. Herein we perceive the utility of preachers and of preaching. Manchioneal is an object of pity; it has not been visited these four months, owing to the illness of Mr. Bradnock; and how they are going on I cannot say. Of Port Royal I can speak nothing favorable;—wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in thereat. Our whole number in town and country amounts to eight hundred and thirty-two: of these twenty-four are whites; all besides are either colored people or blacks." The above letter bears date December 5th, 1806.

In the month of January 1807, Mr. Bradnock, who had spent some time in the country on account of his ill health, returned to Kingston somewhat restored, but not perfectly recovered. "I am happy to say," he then observed, "that after a long and dangerous illness of nearly two months, I am now recovering. I was raised from my bed, after shivering with the ague for two hours, and burning with the fever for three, on Christmas-day, amidst the prayers and praises of the people; but, after preaching two sermons, was compelled to return to it again. I bless God, I am much strengthened in body and in mind, and highly pleased with the thoughts of receiving brother Knowlan, to assist us in our labors; but the fleet is not yet arrived.

"Brother Gilgrass enjoys a good state of health at present, for which we feel gratitude to God. He is this day gone out into the country-round, from which I have lately returned; and many pleasing prospects there truly are in many parts. At Morant Bay, I have admitted fifty members this quarter, so that their number now amounts to one hundred and fifty-five. There are many places to which we have not been able to attend for want of another preacher, and for money to erect chapels. Through my illness, Morant Bay chapel has been nearly neglected during some months past; for our funds being exhausted, the work was at a stand, and we found no means of recruiting them till my returning health enabled me to apply to our charitable benefactors. I have lately collected fifty pounds, and the tradesmen are again at work.

"I am happy to say, that my soul prospers, and continues to enjoy that free and full salvation which I am again enabled to preach unto others. The blessed work of God not only spreads wider, but it sinks deeper in the hearts

of our members. We are constantly comforted with the enlivening declarations of those who are born of the Spirit, and made heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ. Our whole number now in town and country exceeds one thousand; so that, during the last two years, an addition of more than five hundred members has been made; besides many who have gone to glory, praising God for sending his ministers among them to preach the "*Great Word,*" and tell them of Jesus Christ."

In February, Mr. Gilgrass corroborated the above account. "The work," he observes, "is spreading, and would more abundantly be extended if we had adequate help. It evidently appears to me, and rests with weight upon my conscience, that "Now is the accepted time, and that this is the day of salvation" for Jamaica. In every quarter, and on every hand, the people are crying, "come and preach to us." No less than eight or ten places are now wanting the gospel; but, alas! they cannot have it at present. Mr. B. is laid up, and has been nearly so for some months past; he is dying a martyr for the gospel and precious souls. The work in Kingston wins its way, chiefly among people of color; of these many young ones have lately been added to our society, who bid fair for glory. Our morning meetings at five o'clock are much attended, and the people acknowledge the utility of them both for soul and body. On Thursday evenings, our chapel is too small to contain the congregations, and the people complain that we cannot accommodate them with seats."

In the island of Jamaica there are many Jews; these, as it is natural to suppose, are not friendly to the cause of Jesus Christ. Many of their slaves, however, found means occasionally to attend our chapel, and several in the beginning of the year 1807 were convinced of sin and converted to God. This exasperated their proprietors in no small degree, and induced them to threaten their slaves, that unless they desisted from attending the preaching, they should be confined in the workhouse, and undergo a flogging. These threats were not unfrequently carried into execution. "I saw a woman, a few days since," says Mr. Gilgrass, "who told me, that her master had laid her down, and sentenced her to receive thirty-nine lashes if she persisted in going to the chapel. She replied, "Massa, me must pray." She then received nine strokes with particular severity, when the blood ran in streams from her back. A gentleman, pitying her situation, inquired into the nature of her offence; and learn-

ing that it was only for worshipping God, interposed, and instantly released her. A young black man, on the day he was baptized, received thirty-nine lashes for a similar offence; indeed, he stood charged with no other crime than that of praying. But, glory be to God, the more Pharaoh afflicts, the more the people prosper and multiply."

In the month of March, Mr. Knowlan, a Missionary who had been long expected, arrived at Jamaica, much to the assistance and gratification of those who were established there before. Indeed, the health of Mr. Bradnock was so impaired through affliction and fatigue, that the arrival of Mr. K. was not only opportune, but essentially necessary to preserve the congregations. "The Lord," says Mr. B. "is truly making bare his arm among the heathen. We have numbers added every week, and many sound conversions frequently take place. We have about three hundred who regularly meet in band, and know that their sins are forgiven, and are groaning for full redemption. A still greater number are laboring under strong convictions; and I hope, that as soon as brother Knowlan is seasoned to this climate, we shall have a glorious work in different parts of the country."

In another letter, dated March 15th, Mr. B. observes as follows: "We have now nearly completed the house and chapel at Morant Bay, and hope to preach in it on Easter Sunday, though the pews will not be made for some time. Our society in this island hath prospered very much for these two last years; the little one is now more than a thousand, and we have more than work enough for another Missionary. If God bless our united labors, and favor us with health, I hope, by the next Conference, that we shall be able to say, our barren wilderness buds, blossoms, and smiles. We have many Jews who come to hear the word; these give great attention, and our congregations are both large and respectable."

In the month of April, the chapel at Morant Bay was opened. A sermon was preached in it for the first time, on Sunday the 26th, by Mr. Knowlan. A large and attentive congregation assembled. At this place, he continued till the 26th of May, when he returned to Kingston. There were now three Missionaries in the island; one of whom was stationed in Kingston; another in Morant Bay; and the third made excursions into the country, to visit the distant plantations and villages to which they had been previously invited. These stations they agreed to fill in regular succession, unless sickness, or other unforeseen

events, compelled them to alter the arrangements of their plan.

Mr. Bradnock, on whom the charge of Morant Bay chapel had rested, having seen the top-stone brought forth with shouting, soon found himself liberated from a weighty burden. This, in conjunction with his precarious state of health, induced him to visit the country as soon as possible; that he might know more particularly the condition of the societies which had been long neglected, and enjoy the salubrity of the mountain air. Prior to his departure, he observes, "God is blessing our united labors to this people. The first year we added more than two hundred and fifty. These last eighteen months we have made the addition of five hundred and seventy-eight; so that we have now one thousand and seventy-eight in our society. Many of these are savingly brought to a knowledge of the truth, and adorn the gospel of Jesus Christ. Our congregations are more than our chapels can contain, and we have some thoughts of enlarging our borders in Kingston."

In the course of his journey, Mr. B. preached at most of the places which he had visited before, and of which we have already given some account. He was received with every mark of respect and attention; his congregations were as numerous and well-behaved as might be expected, and the word which he delivered was attended with some happy effects. In every place there seemed to be a desire kindled for the sound of the gospel, though it glowed with different degrees of fervor. Thus town and country presented a most pleasing prospect; the fields were white unto harvest; and sinners were flocking to Jesus, as doves to the windows, for safety. What wonder then that the expectations of the Missionaries should be raised to the highest pitch, and that a sad reverse of all their hopes should heighten their disappointments?

Many leading persons in the town of Kingston, provoked at the prosperity of the missions, resolved, if possible, to oppose their progress by throwing some obstacles in their way. Private opposition would not reach the point at which they aimed; they, therefore, resorted to measures which were thought to be more effectual. It was in the month of June 1807, when the first reports of their proceedings transpired; at which time Mr. Bradnock was in the country, and Mr. Knowlan in Kingston. The intelligence soon reached the latter; but not till the affair was brought before the corporation of Kingston, and actually taken into serious consi-

deration. Mr. K. had not been many months in the island, and scarcely knew how to act on this important occasion, to avoid the charge either of negligence or indiscretion. His first step was, to transmit to Mr. B. a brief account of what was going forward, and to solicit his immediate return.

Mr. B. at the time that this message reached him, was in the parish of St. Mary's. He had just visited a small society, to whom he had preached about twelve months before, and was preparing to preach to another when the disastrous intelligence arrived. "While preparing to preach and administer the sacrament," he observes, "I was sent for from Kingston, to appear before the Common Council, as a law was in contemplation to prevent all religious meetings from being begun before sun-rise, or continued after sun-set. This was a heavy stroke; as all our meetings (Sundays only excepted) are begun at five in the morning and seven in the evening, and so would fall within the reach of the prohibited hours. After preaching at three o'clock, I rode twenty-seven miles; when we drew up a petition to present to their worships; but, after waiting in the Assembly-room about two hours, we found that the meeting was postponed till the following week. They have already taken a man into custody for praying too loudly in his own house. His crime was committed between eight and nine o'clock at night, and he is now in confinement. If, therefore, the law should be passed, we may prepare for similar treatment. But, through grace, I am not only willing to be bound at Jamaica, but also to die, for the cause of Christ Jesus."

It had been reported, by those who wished to have the law enacted, that "the meetings of the slaves and others were held at unseasonable hours;—that people could not pass through the streets without being annoyed with singing and praying;—that they were at it all night;—that the orderly inhabitants could not rest in their beds without being disturbed;—and that there was *nothing* but singing and praying through all Kingston." The last of these charges, whatever may be thought of the others, was most assuredly erroneous; for *riot, dancing, billiards,* and *theatrical amusements,** abounded; nor was any one molested in the en-

* It is at all times unpleasant to record the failings and indiscretions of a friend; but more especially so, when we are convinced that he has been actuated by the most pious intentions. It is, nevertheless, the duty of the faithful historian, to give an impartial detail of every important fact that lies before him, without considering whether it implicates his friends or foes. This task the author is now called upon to perform.

joyment of them. No one, we presume, will think that these nurseries of dissipation were shut at an early hour; or, if kept open, that those who frequented them were studiously attentive not to interrupt the silence of the night. The professors of religion ought not, therefore, to sustain alone

The "Ordinance," by virtue of which Mr. Gilgrass was arrested and confined, was passed on the 15th of June 1807, and continued to operate without finding any violator of its injunctions, till towards the close of the November following. During this interval the theatres were open, public assemblies were held, and dances continued through the night, in the same manner as before. About the middle of November a public dance was held in a house not far from the Methodist chapel in the great square in Kingston. The evening on which the dance began was that of a Saturday. It was attended by some of the most wealthy and most powerful individuals on the island, and continued till a late hour.

Mr. Gilgrass and Mr. Knowlan, the two Missionaries who were then in the city, heard with much painful emotion the infringement which was made on the approaching Sabbath; and, availing themselves of the established law, sent a message to the company desiring them to desist. Irritated at what they deemed an insult, they refused to comply with the mandate of an assumed authority, and, probably, continued sometime longer than they otherwise might have stayed, from motives of defiance. The above Missionaries, finding their message disregarded, and the laws trampled under foot, by gentlemen who should have supported their dignity by holding out a laudable example to others, applied to the town-guard, and insisted on their going to disperse them. This guard Mr. G. accompanied thither, and soon accomplished his desires by causing the assembly to break up. Under circumstances so peculiar, what less than retaliation was to be expected? The occasion was afforded not many days afterward, and Mr. Gilgrass was imprisoned accordingly.

The statement of this fact may serve as a warning to others, whose zeal is not regulated by prudence, that it is not every thing which is lawful that is expedient. The wisdom of the serpent must be united to the harmlessness of the dove, or the character of the christian will be incomplete. The ministerial office is a sacred department, which cannot, without sustaining an injury, either form alliances, or interfere, with that of the civil magistrate. Civil society has its laws by which it is regulated; and coercive power is lodged in the hands of men, whom either the appointment of government, or the suffrage of their peers, has deemed worthy of exercising it. If these men grow remiss in the discharge of their duty, the ministers of the gospel have no right to come forward as volunteers to supply their lack of service: nor can they possibly interfere, without assuming a right which must cause them to deviate from that rank which it is their indispensable duty to sustain. No religious pretences, no inward conviction of duty, no calculations upon ultimate benefits, can justify a breach of these lines of demarcation. It never can be the duty of any man to do evil that good may come.

Should such principles and practices as would lead the minister of the gospel to step into the office of the civil magistrate, unhappily gain the ascendency, it would be extremely difficult to fix boundaries to their operations. On the whole, the author cannot but think, that the Missionaries on this occasion acted with considerable indiscretion; and he hesitates not to declare, that he views their conduct with the most decided disapprobation.

the charge of disorder, of which their accusers were criminally guilty.

Candor, however, and justice direct us to observe, that these charges were not wholly without foundation, against those who professed to worship God. Happily, on this occasion, the Methodists were less liable to the imputation than some others who made a profession of worshipping the God of their fathers. Yet even the Methodists were not wholly exempt. In every community there will always be found certain individuals, whose zeal will outrun their knowledge, and hurry them into extravagancies which the less ardent view with unaffected sorrow. This was the case with some in Jamaica; but nothing could be more injudicious than to attribute to the whole body of professing christians, the conduct of a few solitary individuals.

To remove impressions which were at once unfavorable and erroneous, was the great object of the petition which Mr. Bradnock and his colleagues had drawn up to present to the Council of Jamaica. In this petition, they set forth, that the earliest hour at which their meeting began in the chapel alone was five in the morning, and that they broke up at six; and that in the evening the latest hour was seven, and they dispersed at eight o'clock. They further laid down the doctrines which were taught, the precepts which were inculcated, the principles of loyalty which had distinguished us as a body; and pointed out some of those beneficial effects which had resulted from the establishment of Methodism in several places. These were stated to be both known and acknowledged by many of the most exalted characters in his Majesty's dominions.

An unexpected delay, which succeeded the intention of enacting the law immediately, furnished the Missionaries with an opportunity of consulting some professional gentlemen upon the purport of their petition, and the impending edict. These, unanimously, were of opinion, that as the requests of the petitioners to be exempted from the operation of such a comprehensive mandate, were founded upon the most obvious of all principles, they had every reason to flatter themselves with the success which they desired. But in these calculations they found themselves most dreadfully deceived.

Mr. Bradnock, relying on the purity of his intentions, and the favorable estimation which he had made of human nature, repaired again to his place of appointment in the country; as the resumption of the business had been post-

poned for a week, and he had been led to entertain a pleasing opinion of its termination. The petition was, therefore, consigned to the care of Mr. Knowlan, who waited till the day appointed, but had the mortification to see it treated with disregard, if not with contempt.

" I inclose," says he, " in this letter a copy of the law. I was present when it passed. Our address was read, but finally rejected. I was asked several questions, and my answers appeared to give satisfaction to the most prudent and best informed; but there were some in the Council who appeared determined to pass the " Ordinance." These would hearken to nothing that we could advance. In the whole Council, though several seemed to view the " Ordinance" in a dubious light, only one among them openly espoused our cause. This gentleman did not hesitate to avow, that he thought they had no legal right to pass such a law; and that, however he might differ from others in modes of religion, he was utterly averse to those principles which contracted the liberties, and fettered the consciences, of such as wished to worship God.

But opposition from a solitary voice was utterly unavailing. A decided majority appeared to sanction the measure; and on the 15th of June 1807, the following edict was passed into a law:

JAMAICA, ss.

AN ORDINANCE

For preventing the profanation of religious rites and false worshipping of God, under the pretence of preaching and teaching, by illiterate, ignorant, and ill-disposed persons, and of the mischief consequent thereupon.

WHEREAS it is not only highly incumbent upon, but the first and most serious duty of all magistrates and bodies politic, to uphold and encourage the due, proper, and solemn exercise of religion and worshipping of God: And whereas nothing can tend more to bring true devotion, and the practice of religion, into disrepute, than the pretended preaching, teaching, and expounding the word of God as contained in the Holy Scriptures, by uneducated, illiterate, and ignorant persons, and false enthusiasts: And whereas the practice of such pretended preaching, teaching, and expounding the Holy Scriptures, by such descriptions of persons as aforesaid, to large numbers of persons of color, and negroes of free condition, and slaves, assembled together in houses, negro-houses, huts, and the yards thereunto

appertaining, and also in divers lands and by-places within this city and parish, hath increased to an alarming degree; and during such pretended preaching, teaching, and expounding, and pretended worshipping of God, divers indecent and unseemly noises, gesticulations, and behavior, often are used, and take place, to the great annoyance of the neighbours, and to the disrepute of religion itself, and also to the great detriment of slaves who are induced, by divers artifices and pretences of the said pretended preachers, to attend the said irregular assemblies, whereby such slaves are continually kept and detained from their owners' necessary business and employ, and in some cases the minds of slaves have been so operated upon, and affected, by the fanaticism of the aforesaid description of persons, as to become actually deranged: Be it therefore enacted, and ordained by the Common Council of the city and parish of Kingston (the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councilmen of the city and parish, or a competent and legal number, or quorum of them, being in Common Council assembled), and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of July next, no person not being duly authorized, qualified, and permitted, as is directed by the laws of this island, and of Great Britain, and in the place mentioned in such license, shall, under pretence of being a minister of religion of any sect or denomination, or of being a teacher or expounder of the gospel, or other parts of the Holy Scriptures, presume to preach, or teach, or offer up public prayer, or sing psalms, in any meeting or assembly of negroes, or persons of color, within this city and parish: and in case any person shall in any ways offend herein, every such person, if a white person, shall suffer such punishment by fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, or by imprisonment in the common gaol for any space, not exceeding three months, or both; or if a free person of color, or free black, by fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, or imprisonment in the work-house for a space of time not exceeding three months, or both; or if a slave, by imprisonment and hard labor in the work-house, for a space not exceeding six months, or by whipping, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or both; as shall be in those cases respectively adjudged.

And be it further enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons whatsoever, being so as aforesaid licensed or permitted, shall use public worship in any of the said places within this city and parish which

may be so licensed as aforesaid, earlier than the hour of six o'clock in the morning, or later than sun-set in the evening, under the penalty of such punishment by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, or by imprisonment in the common gaol not exceeding the space of three months, or both, as shall be in that respect adjudged.

And be it further enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the said first day of July next, in case any owner, possessor, or occupier of any house, out-house, yard, or other place whatsoever, shall permit any meeting, of any description of persons, for the purpose of hearing or joining in any such pretended teaching, preaching, praying, or singing of psalms, as aforesaid, such owner, occupier, or possessor, being a white person, shall incur and suffer such punishment by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, or by imprisonment in the common gaol not exceeding three months, or both; or if a person of color, or black, of free condition, by fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, or by confinement in the workhouse for any space not exceeding three months, or both; or if a slave, by confinement and hard labor in the workhouse, for any space not exceeding six months, or by whipping not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or both, as shall in these respective cases be adjudged.

Passed the Common Council, this 15th day of June, 1807.

DANIEL MOORE, *Recorder.*

THOMAS DENNIS, *City Clerk.*

Nothing could be more effectual than the clauses of this act for preventing the slaves from hearing the gospel on six days out of seven. Before the sun rises, they are compelled to be at their labor; and this they are not permitted to quit until it sets. The law, therefore, leaves them free to attend preaching during those hours that they are confined, and forbids them from attending when they have an opportunity! Such are the methods which were adopted "for preventing the profanation of religious rites, and false worshipping of God!"

The ordinance in question was, however, only local in its operation, being confined solely to the city and parish of Kingston; for, beyond these precincts the jurisdiction of the framers of it did not extend on the present occasion.

The spirit, however, which caused it to be enacted, reached much farther than the letter of it, and operated in many respects to the detriment of the missions. "A general

sorrow," says Mr. Knowlan, " prevails among our people at present. They are more than ever the butt of slander and calumny; and what makes their situation still worse is, that a man of color cannot prosecute a white man; hence many assume the liberty of saying what they please."

There is one circumstance which was very peculiar on the present occasion, and ought not to be omitted. The French and Spanish priests, who either had chapels, or wished to erect any, were permitted to worship God agreeably to the dictates of their consciences, without meeting with the least legal molestation: while those who could present a still more powerful claim, by being free-born subjects of the British empire, labored exclusively under the interdiction.

Religion has often been compared to the palm-tree, which flourishes with the greatest luxuriance when it is most oppressed. This was now in no small degree realized in Jamaica. The people, convinced of the precariousness of their privileges, were stirred up by the restrictions under which they labored, to live nearer to God, and ardently to improve the opportunities which yet remained. Several who, prior to this time, had viewed the gospel with indifference, began now to manifest an attachment towards it.

Among these was a gentleman of Kingston, who voluntarily offered to the Missionaries a spot of ground on which they might build a chapel. It lay in the suburbs, but was admirably adapted for the purpose, and placed beyond the influence of the edict. Of this, however, they could not avail themselves. The building of that at Morant Bay had exhausted their finances, and the late act had in no small degree disconcerted their measures. Such conduct, they were sensible, would also have had an appearance of opposition; and would have tended to provoke those whom they wished to convince of their improper conduct, by a demeanor that should bear no resemblance to defiance.

In the country, the societies increased considerably. " We have formed," says Mr. Bradnock, " one little society in St. Thomas in the Vale, of thirty members, who bid fair to adorn the christian character. They are all free people, and belong to one family. Many of them are under deep awakenings, and one found peace with God the day I left them."

In September, they write that nothing very remarkable at that time had taken place; nothing, indeed, but what

they had reason to anticipate. To the public sessions, and the common council, they had applied for a license for the chapel at Morant Bay; but in both places they met with a pointed refusal. The same spirit which had led to the "Ordinance" in Kingston, they could still perceive, was full of vigor; but they had no conception that it was just then at work to introduce a more effectual barrier to the propagation of the gospel. A few weeks, however, convinced them of their mistake; as the following extract from a law which was passed in November will most fully prove.

Extract of an Act for the protection, subsisting, clothing, and for the better order and government of slaves, and for other purposes.

Preamble. WHEREAS it is for the public good, that all the laws respecting the order and government of slaves should be consolidated and brought into one law: May it please your Majesty, that it may be enacted; be it therefore enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Assembly of this your Majesty's Island of Jamaica, That from and after the commencing of this act, all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavor the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the christian religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion; and shall do their utmost endeavors to fit them for baptism, and, as soon as conveniently they can, cause to be baptized all such as they can make sensible of a Deity, and the christian faith:

Masters, Overseers, &c. of slaves, to endeavor to instruct them in the christian religion.

II. Provided, nevertheless, that the instruction of such slaves shall be confined to the doctrines of the Established Church in this island; and that no Methodist Missionary, or other sectary, or preacher, shall presume to instruct our slaves, or to receive them into their houses, chapels, or conventicles, of any sort or description, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every slave proved to have been there, and to be recovered in a summary manner before any three justices of the peace; who, or the ma-

jority of whom, are hereby authorized and empowered to issue their warrant for recovery of the same; and on refusal of payment, to commit the offender or offenders to the county gaol until payment of the said fine or fines; which shall be paid over to the church-wardens of the parish where the offence shall be committed, for the benefit of the poor of such parish.

Passed the Assembly, this 11*th day of November,* 1807.
PHILIP REDWOOD, *Speaker.*

Passed the Council, this 27*th of November,* 1807.
R. ROBERTSON, *Cl. Conc.*

I consent this 28*th of November,* 1807.
EYRE COOTE.

On the nature and tendency of this act, which was considered as a clause belonging to the consolidated slave laws, it is almost needless to animadvert. The instruction of their slaves is indeed recommended to the owners, proprietors, and overseers respectively; but no penalties are annexed to enforce an observance of the recommendation. On the contrary, the prohibition, which is pointedly directed, forbids the Missionaries to admit the slaves among their public congregations, or even in their houses, and is accompanied with a fine of twenty pounds for every such slave as presumes to enter their chapels or dwellings. Nothing can be more evident, than that the design of the legislature of Jamaica, in enacting this law, was, to cut off all intercourse between the Missionaries and the slaves, and thus defeat, by legal measures, the end for which the Missionary establishment was instituted. This intention, indeed, is openly avowed by the express language which is used in the edict.

The same disposition that induced the legislators of the island to frame this new law, led the magistrates of Kingston to seek after offenders against the "Ordinance," which, from June to November, had operated without finding its intended victims. The obedience which had hitherto been yielded to its requisitions had rendered its coercive clauses nearly useless, and partially defeated the severe design for which, it had been thought by some, it was first enacted. This, in a certain degree, had tended to

soften the apprehensions of danger which had been entertained, and afforded its supporters a fairer opportunity of seizing offenders, when they trespassed upon its limits without being conscious of their own transgressions. Of these facts, the following narrative will probably furnish us with a clear elucidation. It was written by Mr. Gilgrass, and bears date the 2d of February, 1808.

" To ease my heavy-laden soul, I shall lay before you the lamentable state of our church in this island. The original cause of this raging persecution unquestionably is, a rooted enmity to the things of God, reigning in the hearts of men.

" The first step which was taken by the common council, was the passing of the late " Ordinance," prohibiting all unqualified preachers; and under this denomination all were ranked who were not sanctioned by the laws of England, and of this island. At that time we were permitted to preach as usual, on certain conditions, which restricted us as to time, as specified in the " Ordinance," and subjected us to certain penalties in case of violation.

" The above restrictions were very disadvantageous to us. We lost many of our constant hearers, it being impossible for them to come at such hours of the day as were deemed legal. Many also of those who truly feared God, labored under the same impediments, particularly slaves. We continued to act in conformity to the injunctions under which we were laid, hoping that in a short time the " Ordinance" would be repealed, and that all our local preachers and class-leaders might commence teachers as before. The people here require great care and attention from the preachers and leaders in the pastoral way; for, without this, our preaching from time to time would avail but little. And no wonder can be made that they would run from God, considering the prevalency of iniquity, and the conduct of many around them.

" The next step they took, was that of casting me into the Kingston common gaol. The night we were taken prisoners, I was unwell; and the cause of our arrest was as follows: I have been in the habit of teaching our young people to sing hymns from five o'clock in the evening until six. But this night, November 20th, 1807, Mr. Firth, a Missionary just arrived from England, introduced a new tune, which we heard attentively; he, and his wife, being excellent singers. It was fifteen minutes after six, when the police officer, and a magistrate with a night guard, entered into,

and surrounded the house, taking Mr. Knowlan and myself into custody, to carry us, by the police officer's request, down to the cage; a place where all vagabonds are confined for misdemeanors. On hearing us call for our hats to go with them, the officer said he would take our words for our appearance. Several of the respectable young men then present became verbal sureties for us, promising that we should meet him at the court-house, the next morning, at ten o'clock. Amidst this scene of injustice I felt resignation to the will of God.

"At seven in the morning, some of our friends importuned us to write to the officer to let the affair drop. We did so, and two of them carried the letter. His answer was—"Give my compliments to the gentlemen, and tell them I shall let it drop." On the 23d, behold, we heard that an information was lodged with the city magistrate; and on the 26th, we were summoned to appear at the court-house before the corporate body. On the 30th, after standing there upwards of two hours, I received the following judgment pronounced by the Mayor:—"William Gilgrass, you are found guilty of a large majority of this assembly, of a breach of the resolution of the late "Ordinance," keeping your house a receptacle for that purpose; for which you are to be confined in Kingston common gaol one calendar month." I looked him in the face, saying, I thank you, and am very happy under the judgment."

"After being in prison a few days, several came to see me. About four o'clock one evening, I gave out a hymn; and the singing brought many of the debtors into the room, and the rest round the door. One of the company asked me to pray; and I gladly embraced the invitation. They then solicited me to preach on the ensuing Sabbath. To this also I readily agreed. But this design was soon frustrated; for, on the day following, a prohibition of all singing and praying in the gaol was sent, said to be by order of the magistrates. This effectually prevented our assembling for divine worship, but could not deter me from singing. In this place of confinement, my wife accompanied me; and we fully expected, that we should be obliged to suffer in solitude the whole time the "Ordinance" prescribed.

"Mr. Knowlan's time of trial came on; but, from the indisposition of body under which he had long labored, they granted him pardon. My punishment they also remitted, after I had lain in prison about a fortnight."

It was while Mr. Gilgrass was confined in Kingston, that

the law which was annexed to the consolidated slave laws as a new clause, began its operations. From this law we have already given some extracts, by which the reader will perceive, that all slaves are forbidden to come under the instruction of the Missionaries, either in their houses or chapels; and that, if such can be proved to have been at any of the above places, the preachers respectively are to be fined twenty pounds for each slave; and on neglect of payment, to be cast into the public gaol until such fines shall be discharged. This step completely shut up the chapel while Mr. Gilgrass was in confinement, because it was almost impossible to ascertain, among the multitudes that crowded for admittance, who were slaves, or who were free. Thus, by one single act, about five hundred souls were removed from the society, and from an opportunity of hearing the word of God expounded by ministers, whose preaching had been made a blessing to them.

"When I came out of prison," continues Mr. G. "I found the chapel shut up, which almost broke my heart. But, at the price of my liberty, which I had but just regained, and in the faces of my avowed enemies, I ventured to open the chapel, appointing door-keepers to ascertain the slaves as accurately as possible. Thus I continued preaching for a fortnight, to the restoration of many of the people who were daily falling into sin."

Scarcely had the above time elapsed, before the four Missionaries, Messrs. Bradnock, Gilgrass, Knowlan, and Wiggins, the latter of whom had lately arrived, were summoned to appear before the sitting magistrates. They attended accordingly; and, after being interrogated, were told that they should not preach without being licensed by them. They answered, that they were already licensed according to the laws of England. It was replied—"What are the laws of England to us? what have we to do with them?" Mr. Knowlan then moved for a license; but was thus answered—"Indeed you will not get one."

"Mr. Wiggins," continues Mr. G. "will apply to the approaching quarterly session; but upon a refusal, what shall we do? If we preach, the consequences are, one hundred pounds fine, and three months imprisonment in the common gaol. The former, neither the preacher nor the society is able to pay. Suffer me to say, if we can have no redress from home, we must leave the island. But I hope better things. Till then we must patiently wait in expectation of hearing from you, and learning what we are to do. At

present, I cannot read in the family, or pray, without being cursed worse than a pick-pocket, and that by white men who are called gentlemen."

Mr. G. concludes his letter by observing as follows: "We dare meet no more classes; the corporate body having given orders to the police officer, that if he can discover us preaching (one or more) either by day or night, he is immediately and irresistibly to take us down to that offensive prison, the cage; and that all the punishment which is in their power shall be inflicted. Nothing appears to satisfy them but our banishment."

On the 18th of January, 1808, Mr. Wiggins, pursuant to his intention, applied at the quarter sessions for a license; but his application was made in vain. He pleaded the laws of England, by which he was tolerated; but these were disregarded, and he was dismissed to mourn over his disappointed hopes. Mr. Bradnock presented his license, with the seal of the Lord Mayor and City of London; but this was treated with no more respect than had been shewn before to the act of toleration. A determined opposition to their further proceedings seemed to be resolved on, and their only hope of redress lay in an appeal to the foot of the throne.

Laws that are sanguinary and severe, are never suffered to lie inactive for want of instruments to execute them. On the contrary, when they are enacted against religion and virtue, the spirit of them operates beyond their letter, through those evil propensities which are lodged in the human heart. In the month of April, a friend in Jamaica writes as follows: "This night we were assaulted on both sides of our house at prayer with a volley of stones, so that some were obliged to fly to the windows to secure the blinds for fear of our sustaining personal damage. A report is in circulation, that some people or persons unknown intend setting fire to our chapel under the shelter of darkness."

Prior to the law which was passed in November, Mr. Johnston and Mr. Wiggins were sent out to assist as Missionaries those who had been established in the island before. But, alas! they were called on their arrival to behold those sad reverses which we have been describing. "It appears," says Mr. Johnston in the month of May, "by letters which some of our friends have lately received from England, that you suppose we are still preaching in the country; but this is totally prevented by the late act of the Assembly, which imposes a heavy fine upon the preachers for every slave that

is found in the congregation; and it is impossible to keep them out. It gives us great pleasure to learn, from recent letters, that you are about to interpose in our behalf, by making an application to the King and Council. May God grant you success; for if you do not obtain redress from that source, I fear it will never be procured.

"Supposing we could get licenses in this place to preach, it would only be to such people as are free. But the poor slaves, who are the primary objects of our mission, must be left to perish for want of the gospel. May the God of love prevent this!"

At the Lady-day quarterly meeting of the society, held in Kingston, at which but few attended, it was appointed to set apart the 15th of April as a day of fasting and humiliation before God, on account of the afflicted state of the church, that he might grant a sanctified use of his judgments. It was also proposed, that the preachers should wait upon his Excellency the Governor with an address, and solicit his favor; and that an attorney-at-law should be employed to draw up a petition in their behalf, and present it to the quarter-sessions, praying for permission to take the oaths of allegiance, and for licenses to preach to free people. But all these endeavors proved abortive. To the mandate of the colonial laws they were compelled to submit, and were doomed to view, with unavailing sorrow, the progress of uncontrolled iniquity, without being permitted to lift their voices in the behalf either of virtue or of God.

Unhappily, they beheld the dreadful evil reach to the members of the church which the labors of their predecessors had been exerted to raise. They saw multitudes compelled to quit that fold in which they had found consolation, and, apparently, doomed never more to enter the doors of that house in which they had learned to rejoice in the God of their salvation. These were sensations of a most afflicting nature, which both recollection and anticipation conspired to heighten. Frequently, before the chapel was completely shut, while men of free condition entered to hear preaching, the slaves crowded about the doors, which the edict forbade them to enter, with looks of the most expressive sorrow, and words of the most penetrating eloquence. We do not envy the feelings of that man who could hear unmoved these pathetic expressions, accompanied with tears: "Massa, me no go to heaven now." "White man keep black man from serving God." "Black man got no soul." "Nobody teach black man now." If ever the

words of Sterne had a meaning, when he says, "I heard "his chains, and the iron entered my soul"—it must have been on this occasion; and the men who stood at the chapel doors to forbid the entrance of the slaves, must have felt them in all their force.

Under the circumstances which have been stated, it must be obvious to all, that no relief was to be obtained for the Missionaries from the colonial legislature of Jamaica. The Missionaries had, from time to time, communicated the transactions which had taken place, and the events that had occurred to themselves and the society, to their religious correspondents in England; and all were unanimously of opinion, that our only hope of redress lay in an appeal to the throne.

The framers of the law, aware of this measure, were exceedingly tardy in presenting the act for his Majesty's sanction; perhaps from a conviction, that by a Prince so tolerant it would be disallowed. This delay furnished them with an opportunity of wearying out the affections of many of those, who were destined either to suffer, or to abandon their principles. These ends were, in part, accomplished. Many grew weary of well-doing; others fell into open vice; and some sunk into a state of indifference, from which they have not since been awakened. A much greater number, however, continued to persevere; and these were rather refined than injured by the severity of their trials.

The Committee appointed by the Methodist Conference to apply for legal redress, when occasions rendered the application necessary, were compelled to remain almost in a state of inactivity through these artful manœuvres, notwithstanding their ardent wishes to render their afflicted brethren some essential service by their exertions. In the month of March, 1808, an application was made to his Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council; but the answer returned was, that no such act as was alluded to, had yet arrived. In April, the same request met with the same reply; and in August the same silence prevailed. Every attention was, indeed, paid by the Board of Trade to the chairman of the Committee; but it was impossible for either his Majesty, or his Most Honorable Privy Council, to grant relief from the operation of an edict, the existence of which was officially doubtful.

In the mean time, while this event was hanging in suspense, the following Petition was presented by the Committee to his most gracious Majesty:

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL,

" *The Memorial of the Committee appointed by the Annual Conference of the people called* METHODISTS, *late in connexion with the Reverend* JOHN WESLEY, *to regulate all important matters relating to their religious and secular concerns,*

" MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH,

" That the said Society, late in connexion with Mr. Wesley, by whom your Petitioners have been appointed as aforesaid, have expended about seventy thousand pounds of money, contributed by them out of their private property, as individuals, united in a religious Society under the description aforesaid, in establishing Missions in various parts of the world, for the instruction and conversion of the Heathen.

" That they have so expended many thousands of pounds in sending Missionaries to your Majesty's Island of Jamaica, and in erecting chapels for the instruction of the negroes, and also dwelling-houses for the residence of the Missionaries, in different parts of that island; and that the said Society is at this present time possessed of considerable property, in chapels, and dwelling-houses for their Missionaries, in that island.

" And your Petitioners further humbly shew, that about twelve or thirteen hundred of the negroes in the said island have been so fully instructed in our holy religion, through the labors of the Missionaries employed by the said Society, and have so sincerely embraced the same, as to have become pious and exemplary christians; while many thousands more of that poor ignorant people have been in some measure instructed by the said Missionaries.

" But your Petitioners most humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that by force or color of an Act of the Assembly of Jamaica, entitled, " The consolidated Slave Act," which was passed by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, about five months since, a grievous religious persecution has been commenced against the Missionaries, the members of the said Society, and the congregations established by them in the said island: that their chapels have been shut up; all their property in that island rendered useless; and that charitable work, the instruction of the slaves, on which so much labor has been employed, and so much money expended by them, is now totally at a stand.

" Your Petitioners humbly beg leave to lay before your Majesty, that part of the said Act of Assembly, under which this severe persecution has arisen.

" Every proprietor of slaves shall, as much as in him " lies, endeavor to instruct his slaves in the principles of " the christian religion; and shall do his utmost endeavor " to fit them for baptism; and as soon as he conveniently " can, cause to be baptized all such as can be made sensi- " ble of a Deity and the christian faith.

" Provided, that the instruction of such slaves shall be " confined to the doctrine of the established church in this " island; and that no Methodist Missionary, or other Sec- " tary or Preacher, shall presume to instruct our slaves, " or to receive them into their houses, chapels, or con- " venticles of any sort or description, under the penalty of " twenty pounds for every slave proved to have been there, " and to be recovered in a summary manner before any three " justices of the peace, who, or the majority of whom, are " hereby authorized and empowered to issue their warrant " for recovery of the same; and on refusal of payment, to " commit the offender or offenders to the county gaol, until " payment of the said fine or fines; which shall be paid over " to the church-wardens of the parish where the offence " shall be committed, for the benefit of the poor of such " parish.

" Your Petitioners humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that the injunction contained in the said Act, " That the proprietors of slaves shall endeavor to instruct " them," is only an artifice to cover the irreligious nature of the said persecution, and the antichristian principle on which it is founded: for the same injunction, which was enacted in former Acts of the said island, in and subsequent to the year 1788, has been generally and notoriously disregarded; and the proprietors and managers of slaves, with very few exceptions, do not in any degree endeavor to instruct the negroes under their care, either in the doctrines of the Established Church, or in any other form of christianity; but leave them, whether imported from Africa, or born under your Majesty's dominion, in the darkest pagan ignorance and depravity, completely destitute both of religious and moral education.

" That the established clergy of the island are by far too few in number for the work of instructing the slaves, did they consider it their duty so to do; but, without meaning the least disrespect to them, your Petitioners humbly beg

leave to state, that the beneficed and regular clergy of that colony confine their ministerial instructions almost wholly, if not entirely, to the white and other free inhabitants: That the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, in behalf of the Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, a few years ago, sent a Missionary to instruct the negroes in the said island of Jamaica; but that the said Missionary, soon after his arrival, died of the yellow fever: since which time, as your Petitioners are informed and believe, there has been no Missionary for the instruction of the negroes in that island, who had been ordained by any Bishop of the Established Church.

" It is, therefore, a melancholy truth, as your Petitioners humbly beg leave further to represent to your Majesty, that about four hundred thousand of the human race are effectually excluded by this law from all public worship, and from all public and private instruction; and that it amounts to a prohibition by a christian legislature, not of any particular doctrines or modes of worship, but of the propagation of the gospel itself among your Majesty's subjects above-mentioned. In this view, it is a measure of persecution unexampled in the christian world.

" It is, however, as your Petitioners gratefully acknowledge, a measure not more repugnant to the spirit of religious toleration which characterizes our age and country, than it is to the just and liberal intentions of your Majesty, as recently manifested in the rejection of a former act of the same colonial legislature, founded on the same persecuting principles, when transmitted for your royal approbation.

" Your Petitioners, therefore, impressed with heart-felt gratitude for that liberal spirit of toleration which has so eminently distinguished your Majesty's reign, and which was also so conspicuous in the reigns of your royal ancestors of the illustrious house of Hanover, humbly throw themselves at your Majesty's feet, and implore your royal protection for that large and loyal body of your Majesty's subjects, on behalf of whom they petition, against this most oppressive and unconstitutional Act of Assembly.

" They also pray your Majesty, that on the arrival of an official copy of the said Act, your Petitioners may be heard by their counsel against the same, if to your Majesty, and your Most Honorable Privy Council, it shall seem expedient.

" And, finally, your Petitioners most humbly pray, in behalf of the large body of your Majesty's loyal and faithful

subjects whom they represent, That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to disallow the said Act, and to order that the same may no longer be enforced or acted upon in your Majesty's said Island of Jamaica.

" And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

" Signed in behalf of the said Committee,

" THOMAS COKE,

" NEW CHAPEL, CHAIRMAN.
City-Road, London,
May 13th, 1808."

Some time* after this Petition was presented, a Memorial was laid before the Right Honorable the Committee of Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, of which the following is an exact copy:

" TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL FOR TRADE AND PLANTATIONS,

" *The humble Memorial of the Committee of Deputies of the Three Denominations of Protestant Dissenters*

" SHEWETH,

" THAT your Memorialists have learned with deep regret, that in an Act lately passed by the Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, entitled, " An Act for the Protection, Subsisting, Clothing, and for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and for other purposes," certain provisions have been introduced respecting Preachers and Teachers dissenting from the Established Church of England, highly injurious to many peaceable and loyal subjects of his Majesty's crown and government, and in direct contravention of the rights and privileges secured to them by the Toleration Act, 1 W. & M. cap. 18.

" That if any of those persons, against whom the said provisions appear to have been directed, had been guilty of seditious practices, or other misdemeanors, tending to endanger the safety, or to disturb the peace of the said island, your Memorialists apprehend that the individuals so offending were answerable to justice; and might have been restrained or punished according to the nature and urgency of the occasion, without confounding the innocent with the guilty; whereas, in the present case, your Memorialists be-

* Towards the close of the whole business.

lieve themselves justified in stating, that, so far from such misconduct having been proved, or the existing laws having been charged with such insufficiency as to demand additional legislative provisions (much less any so vexatious and unjust), it has appeared from most respectable and impartial testimonies, alluded to in a representation made to your Lordships in the year 1804 by your present Memorialists, that great advantage had been derived by the colonists from the labors of that very description of persons who have been silenced and oppressed by the late Act, which, although unsanctioned by the authority of his Majesty, has, nevertheless, been put in full execution.

" That your Memorialists will not trespass on the respect due to your Lordships, by entering, uncalled, on a discussion of the policy or equity of the long-established West-India system, by which the common rights of humanity are denied to Africans; but they confidently trust in the wisdom and justice of his Majesty's government, not merely that a power so anomalous and exorbitant will at least be limited by that fancied necessity in which it is alleged to originate, but that the spirit of arbitrary domination, nourished by such indulgence, will never be permitted by any incidental connexions, or for any imaginary expedience, to infringe on the rights and privileges of the other classes of society. And your Memorialists, on behalf of his Majesty's dutiful subjects for whom they act (a body incomparably out-numbering all the white inhabitants of the British West Indies), beg leave to state, that the rights now attacked are, in their esteem, among the dearest and most important which, as freemen and Britons, they have the happiness to enjoy.

" Your Memorialists therefore, regarding the enactments against which they have taken the liberty to remonstrate, as unconstitutional in their principle, and oppressive in their operation, and looking up to your Most Honorable Board as the more immediate guardians of the law, and trustees for the liberties of the subject, in the dependencies of the empire, humbly pray that your Lordships will, in your wisdom, be pleased to advise his Majesty to prevent the said Act from passing into a law, by refusing thereto his Royal assent.

" And your Memorialists, &c.

On the effects produced by these papers, it would display both presumption and folly were we to attempt making any calculations. The wisdom and vigilance of those honorable and august characters to whom they were addressed, were

adequate to all the purposes that could excite our wishes, and sufficient to beget our confidence, and destroy our fears. The only light in which these Memorials were viewed by those who felt solicitous for their being presented was, that of stating facts which the preamble of the Act had concealed under a delusive varnish, and of pointing out, from painful experience, the sad extent of its operations.

Many months, however, elapsed from the passing of the edict in Jamaica, before it officially arrived in England; and when it came, it was accompanied by an agent, who appeared to be delegated to enforce all its clauses, though they had been executed with so much severity. But the efforts of unrestrained power were ineffectually made against the tolerant principles which have on all occasions distinguished the illustrious house of Hanover. Against a spirit of persecution, both his Majesty, and his august ancestors, have uniformly manifested a determined opposition; and the enlightened liberality of his Most Honorable Privy Council has induced them to support the Protestant cause, and, happily, to concur in his liberal designs, whenever the rights of conscience have been invaded by delegated authority.

The year 1808, nevertheless, passed away, and, through the cause which has been mentioned, left the important subject which remained at issue undecided. In the spring, however, of 1809, the cause was heard and duly considered at the Board of Trade: and, at last, the following letter, addressed to the Author of this History (who had given regular attendance in London upon this business for about eight months in two successive years), announced the momentous decision, and afforded a convincing proof that our expectations were well founded:

"OFFICE FOR TRADE,
"*Whitehall*, 26th April, 1809.

"Lord Bathurst presents his compliments to Dr. Coke, and acquaints him, that the late Act passed in Jamaica, in November 1807, "for the protection, subsisting, clothing, and for the better order and government of slaves, and for other purposes," was this day disallowed by his Majesty in Council."

That a decision, so congenial to our wishes, so consonant to justice, and so conducive to the interests of the gospel, should produce among the friends of christianity the liveliest emotions of grateful joy, was rather a matter of expectation

than surprise. In this light, an act of justice confers a favor, and heightens the obligation which it created, by the manner of its communication. The account was immediately transmitted to all the Methodist societies throughout the United Kingdom and the colonies, that all might participate in the common gratification, and be conscious, on the event presented, of the conspicuous displays of that paternal affection which has invariably marked the conduct of our most gracious Sovereign towards all the subjects of his extensive empire, both on this and on all similar occasions.

Under circumstances so favorable to the propagation of the gospel, which is the important object that we have in view, no measures can more effectually bind us in loyalty to the throne, than those which our most gracious Sovereign has adopted on the present occasion. In this view, both gratitude and interest concur with our fixed principles. Our religious rights and privileges form our dearest interests; these we enjoy at home; and they are extended to our fellow-creatures, without any regard to complexion, in the remotest extremities of the empire, as far as our Sovereign and his government can influence the subjects of the realm. We enjoy, in our auspicious day, the greatest blessings which it is in the power of any government to bestow. The laws that are established in our favor, are adequate to all the purposes which they were designed to embrace; and the many decisions that have taken place, most convincingly assure us, that those who have the administration of justice will not suffer them to be infringed. May the spirit, as well as the letter of them, be transmitted to generations which are yet unborn; and may those who feel their genial influence, perpetuate that loyalty to their Sovereign, and gratitude to God, which it shall be our endeavor to set before them as an example!*

* The Author is sorry to inform his readers, that the persecution in Jamaica still continues, notwithstanding his Majesty's gracious interference: but the particulars, as well as the issue, of this melancholy event must be reserved for the APPENDIX.

CHAP. XVI.

HISTORY OF TRINIDAD.

Trinidad.—Discovery, Inhabitants, Original and present Condition.—Conquest and Revolutions.—Proximity to the Continent.—Extent.—Soil.—Early and natural Productions.—Negligence of the Spaniards.—Natural Advantages and capability of Improvement.—Reason why no attempts have been made to establish a Mission in the Island.

THE Island of Trinidad has obtained but little notice in the history of the Western World. It is the most Southern of the Charaibee Islands; which, in some measure, has precluded its intercourse with the nations of Europe.

It is well known, that the discovery of the West India Islands was made by Columbus in his different voyages into these distant, and, at that period, unknown seas. This island was discovered by that celebrated navigator in his third voyage, and was named by him *Trinidad*, in honor of the Holy Trinity. It still retains that name; and there is no probability that, in this respect, it will undergo any change. *Herrera* observes, that while Columbus was prosecuting this his third voyage, he was overtaken by a violent storm, and exposed to dangers of the most serious nature. In the midst of his distress, he made a solemn vow, that in case he survived his present disasters, and was permitted to prosecute those discoveries which he was then pursuing, the first land which he discovered should bear that sacred name. It was not long afterward that a sailor, at the mast-head, descried three points of land, apparently emerging from the ocean: this was communicated to Columbus; and the appearance, as well as his recent vow, seemed to demand the name which he had previously determined to bestow.

It was in the year 1498 that Columbus first landed on this island; and from its contiguity to the southern continent, which he intended to explore, he found it admirably calculated for a place of rendezvous to himself, and to

those future adventurers who might engage in expeditions in these little known regions of the globe.

The discovery of Trinidad was accompanied by that of the river Oronooko, to the mouth of which it lies almost contiguous. But Trinidad produced no gold, and was therefore deemed an unimportant acquisition: calls of a more seductive nature soon diverted Columbus's attention, and it was passed by with indifference and neglect.

The river Oronooko, however, which had been descried soon after the discovery of Trinidad, was considered as an object of too much importance to be utterly abandoned. The gold, which had been found in most of those places where settlements had been made, continually glittered at a distance; it associated itself with every prospect of any new discovery, but particularly with those which were made on the continental shores. It was this circumstance which caused both *Trinidad* and the river *Oronooko** to

* The river Oronooko, which discharges itself by upwards of fifty mouths into the ocean, is presumed to take its rise in the vast mountains of the Cordeliers; and it traverses a course of five hundred and seventy-five leagues, in which it is joined by various other rivers, before it disembogues itself into the sea. Its impetuosity is so great, that it prevails over the most powerful tides; and by its rapidity, preserves both its freshness, and its current, to the distance of twelve leagues, after it has forsaken the continent through which it had travelled, and has entered the bosom of the deep.

But though this river is of sufficient power to repel the tides by which it is assailed, it has tides peculiar to itself. Like the Nile in Egypt, it occasionally swells with periodical regularity, but without overflowing those banks which the great Creator has made its boundaries. It begins to swell in the month of April, and continues gradually rising till September. In October the waters begin to subside; and they regularly decrease from that period till the return of the vernal equinox, when it proceeds as already described.

The reasons which have been assigned for this extraordinary phenomenon are various, and some of them improbable in the highest degree. The most reasonable account that can be given, seems to arise from the varied seasons of the year. The mountains in which this river takes its rise are perpetually covered with snows, but more particularly so in the winter season of the year. When the sun, returning from the southern limb of Capricorn, proceeds to cross the equator, the snows are exposed to its perpendicular rays, through which it is probable that they begin to melt, and within a month the waters commence their swell. This continues during the whole season of the northern summer, while the sun has any northern declination; but on its return from the tropic of Cancer, when it crosses the line in its departure to the southern regions, the waters begin to decrease, and the river returns to its usual state.

These circumstances, which are so correspondent with fact, afford us also an additional argument in favor of the supposed source of the river. The subsiding of the waters in October, if we admit the melting of the snows by the action of the sun's vertical rays, will prove that the source of this river must be in some northern latitude; and, therefore, it

be soon revisited by the nation which had first made the discovery of them; the island was considered as an inlet to the river, and the river as a path which led to gold.

The conquest of these immense regions, which are watered by one of the largest rivers in the world, was soon resolved on; and in order to facilitate and ensure the completion of so vast an enterprize, the island was peopled, and made at once a depôt and a place of common rendezvous. It does not however appear, that it was peopled with any view to its improvement, or that the Spaniards entertained any serious thoughts of settling a colony in this remote corner of their insular possessions. It was contemplated by them in a subordinate light, as leading to

must be in the northern parts of that rampart of mountains which God has fixed to divide the waters of the globe. And though it may appear problematical to suppose, that waters which begin to swell in *April*, should subside in *October*, admitting the cause which is here assigned; yet a solution appears obvious. April and October bear the same relation to their respective equinoxes; and nearly a month, in each case, elapses before the effects are felt in either towards the Oronooko shores. Independently of this, it is not improbable, that through the immense body of waters which flow during the six summer months, the snows are considerably exhausted. And though the heat may continue intense, yet, the exhalations being great, the supply of snows considerably diminished, and the earth through which the solar rays had penetrated, and over the surface of which the river and its tributary streams are obliged to pass, imbibing vast quantities of water—these circumstances may reduce this mighty river to its usual size.

But though the Oronooko is so immensely long and large, its rapidity tends in some measure to impede the progress of its navigation. In some places it is sufficiently deep for vessels of the largest burdens; but its appearance has often been found delusive. Obstructing rocks, and concealed impediments, render the voyages upon it dangerous; and it frequently happens, that those who venture on this rapid stream are obliged to land on its banks, and carry their canoes as well as their merchandize, to a considerable distance, before they can again find a navigable part.

The various little islands, which break the mouth of this amazing river into upwards of fifty streams, are inhabited by a race of men as extraordinary as their situation. "Their country," says the Abbe Raynal,* "though covered with water six months of the year when the "river is swelled, and overflowed the rest of the year twice a day by "the sea, appears to them preferable to any other. They live perfectly "secure, in cabins raised above the reach of the waters, upon stakes "sunk deep in the sands. These sands are covered with palm-trees, "which supply the savage inhabitants with food, drink, furniture, and "canoes."

Such was the original discovery of this astonishing river, and such are the leading features of those peculiarities which relate to it. The vast territories which are washed and intersected by it are at present but little known; so that many of the adjacent parts may be reckoned among the undiscovered regions of the globe.

* Vol. iv. p. 92.

the river which almost washed its shores, and as a necessary step to large possessions, to empire, and to wealth.

On the arrival of Columbus at Trinidad, in 1498, he found the island inhabited by a race of men who, though in a state of barbarism, and ignorant of those arts which enrich and embellish life, possessed those soft traits of character, which so particularly distinguished the Aborigines of the great Leeward Islands. The Charaibean nations, who inhabited the contiguous spots, were fierce, warlike, and barbarous, and evidently of an origin distinct from those of Trinidad. But of this strange diversity we have already spoken. The Leeward Islands, as before observed, were inhabited by a soft, effeminate, friendly people, in all probability of the Apalachian tribe, who emigrated from the Florida shore; while the Charaibees were restless, ferocious, and cruel, delighting in slaughter, and in disturbing the tranquillity of the larger and more populous islands. The customs and manners, the language and modes of life, which prevailed in Trinidad, bore an obvious resemblance to those of the more inoffensive tribes. And though surrounded by the Charaibees, it appears by the testimony of the most respectable historians, that they were further removed from them in language, in government, in religion and pursuits, than they were in distance from the Apalachians of the Leeward Islands. But by what means a soft effeminate race should have been thus encircled by hostile neighbours in their insular possessions, while they were separated from their native tribe by intervening islands, and waters which they were unable to cross, must remain a problem very difficult fully to solve.

"It was not," says Raynal, "till the year 1535, that the "Spaniards thought of paying another visit to the river "Oronooko. But having been disappointed in their ex- "pedition, which was fitted out in search of mines, they "never formed more than one small settlement upon it. "This is situated at the lower part of the river, and is "called St. Thomas."

Trinidad having been considered by Spain as an appendage to the river, and to those romantic objects which were then so highly in repute, we have little reason to wonder, that the failure of the expedition should terminate in the utter neglect of an island which had, in their estimation, no intrinsic value. The few inhabitants who settled on it were Spaniards, and their characteristic indolence is visibly marked in every place that they have

possessed; we may, therefore, naturally conceive, that no great improvements were made in the cultivation of the soil. The island, on its discovery, was covered with thick and almost impenetrable forests, and in that state nearly the whole of it was suffered to continue for a considerable time. The small and feeble garrison which had been established on it, served rather to possess it, than to defend it against any foreign assailants; and necessity, rather than industry, became the principal incentive to that languid activity which appeared on some diminutive spots. Though capable of producing many valuable commodities in the greatest abundance, the richness of the soil seems to have been utterly neglected, excepting in a few particular portions, which were rather selected for conveniency than trade.

In the progress of years, however, the fertility of the soil called forth some vigorous exertions, and the inhabitants commenced a productive traffic. It was, however, circumscribed in its nature, and confined to cocoa, which was the only article for exportation that they ever attempted to raise. This was cultivated in such perfection, that its reputation soon became great: it was even preferred to the cocoa of *Caracca*, and soon obtained a mercantile superiority that would admit of no rival either in price or fame. The superior excellency of this article soon brought on a competition among the Spanish merchants. The quantity raised was insufficient to supply the vast demand; and various methods were, therefore, made use of, to obtain an exclusive possession. Its price was enhanced; the approaching crops were anticipated; and many paid for the article in advance, to ensure their bargains and to prevent disappointments.

This avidity in the purchasers, which would have been an invincible stimulus to a people habitually industrious, had, on the planters of Trinidad, a contrary effect. Having received more money in advance than the anticipated crop was sufficient to repay, they fell into a state of languor, and neglected the cultivation of an article, which would not only have cancelled every obligation, but have raised them to a state of affluence and independence. They had anticipated their future wealth, and therefore had nothing to hope; the departure of hope gave them up a prey to despair; they sunk down in a state of apathy; and by degrees, which at first were imperceptible, abandoned all thoughts of labor. Commerce took its flight with industry; their credit and their cocoa departed together, and the mother-country no longer deemed the island of any importance.

But though laziness, and characteristic indolence, prevailed over industry, interest, and wealth, hostility toward the natives uniformly continued. They considered the island as a conquered country, because the inhabitants were both unable and unwilling to resist the power of European arms. We cannot specify any cruelties that were exercised against the natives. But one fact is certain, that in the course of a few generations the poor Aborigines disappeared from the face of the earth.

The golden dream which enchanted Europe soon after the discovery of America, and which continued for more than a century, extended its delirium to this country; and, in 1595, drew Sir Walter Raleigh to the Western Continent in quest of gold. His designs were, to enter the river Oronooko, to explore the country of Guiana, and to procure that wealth which the Spaniards had sought in vain. With these views, he departed from Plymouth on the 6th of February, reached Trinidad on the 22d of March, and came to an anchor at *Cape Curiacon*, called by the Spaniards *Punto de Gallo*. Great Britain was at this period engaged in a war with Spain; the conduct, therefore, of Raleigh on this occasion was nothing more than an exertion of a rival nation contending for empire, and attempting to enrich itself with the spoils of a conquered foe.

Having secured his ships in the harbor where they had cast anchor, he took his barge and skirted along the shore, in order to make the better discovery of the coasts; landing in every convenient cove to converse with the native inhabitants, that he might obtain from them an adequate knowledge of the rivers, creeks, watering-places, harbors, and defenceless situations. In the progress of this circuitous voyage "between *Perico and Piche*, or *Tierra de Brea*, (says "Barrow in his Naval History, vol. i. p. 215.) in a salt water "river, he met with the Oyster Tree mentioned by Pliny; "and at *Tierra de Brea*, he found such quantities of *mine-*"*ral pitch*, that he declares all the ships in the world might "be freighted with it from thence; and that it is preferable "to the Norway pitch for trimming ships, as the sun can-"not melt it."

By thus coasting the island, he had an opportunity of entering into a traffic with the natives, and from them he acquired a competent knowledge of the Spanish forces. The behaviour of the Spaniards toward the unfortunate Indians interested the latter in his favor, who well knew how to improve by their disaffection, and to draw them over to his

own party. The landing-place was guarded by a few soldiers, but their strength was insufficient to make any resistance. To these he offered peace; which being readily accepted, he took hostages for their good behaviour, and began to calculate upon the reduction of the island.

The fort was in a state nearly as defenceless as the landing-place; badly manned; ill provided; and in all respects unable to resist the attack which Raleigh meditated upon it. At this critical juncture, his ships, which had been parted from him in a storm that had overtaken them on their voyage, opportunely arrived. The season appeared particularly favorable, and prudence would not justify a moment's delay. The arrival of his ships, the friendship of the natives, the securing of the landing-place, and the feebleness of the garrison, were circumstances not to be overlooked; and the place itself was of too much importance to his intended expedition, to be passed over with neglect. To sum up all, while the welfare of his nation justified the measure that he was about to adopt, private resentment* gave ardor to the enterprize.

Thus invited, thus equipped, and thus impelled, Raleigh waited the approach of night to carry his schemes into execution. He landed in the evening, fell immediately upon the *Corps de garde* in a moment when they least expected him, and put every man to the sword. He then sent forward Captain *Calfield* with sixty soldiers, while he followed with forty more, and immediately began an attack upon the little town or city of St. Joseph. They entered it about day-break, after meeting with a feeble resistance, and put all to the sword, except *Berreo* the Governor and his companion. These he sent on board his ship, and afterward obtained from *Berreo* a more explicit account of Guiana than all his previous information amounted to. He

* The preceding year Sir Walter Raleigh had sent out a Captain Whiddon to reconnoitre the Oronooko shores, as preparatory to this expedition. The governor of Trinidad, whose name was *Don Antonio de Berreo*, had found means to decoy on shore eight of Captain Whiddon's men; and, contrary to his promise, had made them prisoners. This, therefore, had not been forgotten by Sir Walter; and he determined to revenge the insult that had been offered to his country, as well as to secure a retreat for himself in case any disaster should befal him in his intended expedition. On the river Oronooko the Spaniards had but one settlement, which was both small and defenceless; but at the time of Sir Walter's expedition this circumstance was not known; it was, therefore, but an act of prudence to provide for accidents which might be unforeseen.

learned from the Governor, who had been several times up the river Oronooko, that the country of which he was in pursuit, lay about six hundred miles further inland than he had been led to believe; a circumstance which had nearly defeated his whole project, and which, finally, prevented him from ever attaining his favorite object.

After the conquest of the town of St. Joseph, and the almost indiscriminate massacre of the Spaniards, Sir Walter Raleigh began to be humane. In searching the places of confinement, he found five Indian Chiefs, or Caciques, confined in a loathsome dungeon, quite exhausted with cruel tortures, and almost starved to death. These he instantly released; and to complete his conquest, and gratify the Indians, who had suffered the utmost indignities from the Spaniards, he consumed the town with fire, as he had destroyed the inhabitants with the sword.

Having thus executed his intention, and completely subdued the island, Raleigh, full of his future discoveries, collected together the Caciques of the island who were enemies to the Spaniards, and told them, through the medium of an interpreter, "That he was the servant of a Queen, "who was a great Cacique of the north, and a virgin, and "had more Caciques under her than there were trees "on the island; that she was an enemy to the Spaniards, "because of their cruelty and oppression; and that, having "freed all the coasts of the northern world from their servi-"tude, she had sent him to deliver them also, and withal "to defend the country of Guiana from their invasion and "conquests."*

A speech so astonishing, and accompanied with actions which released their captives, and destroyed their oppressors, overpowered the natives, and filled them with such exalted notions of Queen Elizabeth, that they were almost ready to pay divine honors to her picture, which was presented for their inspection. And to promote a work which promised to rid the world of their greatest enemies, the Caciques gave Sir Walter all the information which lay in their power, relative to the distance, situation, strength, and riches of Guiana, which now engrossed all his thoughts.†

* Naval History, vol. i. page 216.

† Upon the information which Sir Walter received from the *Indian Caciques*, and *Berreo the Governor*, he left his ships at Trinidad, and embarked on board his small craft with one hundred men, taking with him provisions for one month. With these he entered the river Oronooko,

The expedition of Sir Walter proving unsuccessful, Trinidad was soon abandoned. It afforded no gold, and but little plunder; and, the end for which it had been seized proving abortive, he consigned it over once more into the hands of its indolent possessors.

" The court of Madrid," says Raynal, " still maintains " possession of this island and the Margaritta, which neg- " ligence had before ruined, more for the sake of keeping " nations of greater industry at a distance from the conti- " nent, than with a view of deriving any advantages to " itself." The inhabitants he describes as " a mixed race, " descended from Spaniards and Indian women. They live " on what fish they catch, and on bananas, which nature " produces there of a larger size and better quality than in " any other part of the Archipelago. They have a breed of " lean and tasteless cattle, with which they carry on a frau- " dulent traffic with the French colonies; exchanging them " for camlets, black veils, linens, silk stockings, white hats, " and hardware. The number of their vessels does not " exceed thirty sloops, without any decks."

The tame cattle, both of Margaritta and Trinidad, have degenerated from their European docility. They have escaped from their indolent masters, and filled the forests with a breed that is completely wild. Though no longer under

and proceeded about four hundred miles; but the intense heat of the sun, accompanied with violent storms of rain, together with the rising of the waters, as mentioned in a preceding note, overpowered his resolution and strength, and obliged him to return without accomplishing his design. Several of the petty kings of the country through which he passed resigned their sovereignty into his hands, for the use of Queen Elizabeth. But, as if Europeans only roamed about the earth for the same purposes that wolves and tigers prowl the desert, he set fire to the town of *Cumana*, because the inhabitants refused, or were unable, to bring in the contributions which he had laid them under. *Rio de la Hacha*, and part of St. *Mary's*, shared the same fate.

But, notwithstanding these barbarous sallies of disappointed ambition, he found means to gain upon the natives in general, and so far ingratiated himself into their favor, that an alliance was entered into with several, who promised to assist him on some future day, when more favorable circumstances should enable him to attack the Spaniards with a probability of success. This, however, was, in all likelihood, an alliance which self-preservation obliged them to make. It was not made because they loved Raleigh, but because they hated the Spaniards, and were willing to change their masters, from a full conviction that they had nothing more to lose, but that from any change they had every thing to hope. He left with them a pair of colours, which it has been said they still preserve; and their posterity cherish the remembrance of the alliance to the present hour

the command of the inhabitants, these wild cattle furnish them with some employment. They shoot them in the woods, and, cutting their flesh into narrow slips, about three inches in breadth and one in thickness, melt out the fat, and dry them in the sun. By this means the flesh is preserved from putrefaction, and made capable of being kept in good condition for several months. This also was a diminutive article of traffic with the French colonies.

Such, with the variations which local circumstances uniformly occasion, was the original condition of the island; such were its produce and inhabitants, and such the vicissitudes to which it was exposed until the year 1676; when it was attacked, conquered, plundered, and abandoned, by the French. Nothing remarkable occurs in this depredatory excursion; it again returned to its original conquerors, and continued in their possession till its capture, by us, in 1797, in whose hands it remains to the present day.

This newly-acquired addition to the British colonies in the West Indies, being ceded by Spain to the crown of Great Britain, in virtue of the third article of the definitive treaty of peace of 1802, offers a wide field for commercial enterprize, with well-founded hopes of considerable profit. In the hands of the Spaniards, owing to their characteristic indolence, it remained in an unimproved, and for the most part, in an uncultivated state; but from the combined enterprizing spirit, liberality, and industry of our merchants and planters, we may expect to see it become, in a few years, a very flourishing settlement.

Its situation is highly advantageous, in times of war, for receiving a formidable fleet; which may not only protect it from the attempts of an enemy, but likewise be so stationed at this island, as readily to command and secure all the other British Leeward Islands. It possesses the additional advantage of bays, in which vessels of considerable burden may float in a sufficient depth of water, enjoy safe anchorage, and be completely sheltered from the prevailing winds. These advantageous circumstances indicate its future prosperity, and point it out as a valuable portion of the globe. Future generations may, probably, look back with astonishment, when they learn that this tract of land remained in the possession of one of the civilized nations of Europe nearly three hundred years, exhibiting a scene of wild fertility, which scarcely served any other purpose, than to invite the hand of industrious cultivation, and to reproach its original conquerors with their habitual neglect.

Trinidad is situated between 60° and 61° 30′ of longitude west from London; and in 10 of north latitude. It is separated from the *Terra Firma* of South America by the straits of Paria, which are nearly eight miles over; and it lies to the south west of Tobago, at the distance of about twenty miles. The length of the island does not exceed eighty miles; and its shape is so singular, that in some parts the breadth is only six miles, whilst in others it extends to thirty. It is, however, entirely out of the tract of hurricanes. The soil is represented as uncommonly fertile, and capable of producing abundant crops of sugar; there being no less than four millions two hundred thousand acres of uncultivated land fit for plantations of that article; and the soil in general is so rich, and so easily wrought, that forty negroes could perform the same quantity of labor in its cultivation, as would require one hundred in any of the old established islands. Tobacco of a fine quality, excellent cottons, indigo, ginger, indian corn, and in general all the products of the larger islands, besides a variety of fruits, might here be raised in plenty, with comparative ease and considerable advantage. But the air is said to be unhealthy, occasioned by frequent and dense fogs: and this, perhaps, may form the best excuse for the negligence of the Spaniards in not settling it in the most advantageous manner.

Between the point of Naparin, and that of the Carenage, lies a broad bay: at the bottom of which stands the town, on a plain of small extent. This plain is extremely incommoded with marshes, which are permitted to exhale their noxious *miasma*, although capable of being cleared, drained, and cultivated: the island having considerable rivers, which would facilitate the draining and cultivating of all the low lands. The town itself is large, and divided into streets disposed rectangularly; but the houses, being constructed of wood or mud, are, in general, mean and inconvenient.

Islands and continents inhabited by savages, who hold no intercourse with the rest of mankind, afford but little history; and, retaining their native wilderness state when in the hands of civilized nations, they become subjects rather for philosophical reflections, than historical research. The few incidents which have occurred in the history of this island we have already noticed, together with the changes through which it has already passed; and the whole narrative may be summarily comprised in the following paragraph:

It was one of the earliest discoveries of Columbus in the year 1498, who gave it its present name. It was first taken

from the Spaniards by that celebrated English navigator Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1595; and afterwards by the French in 1676, who plundered and then abandoned it. From this period, until its capture by Rear Admiral Harvey, and the land forces under General Abercromby, in the month of February 1797, it remained one of the islands in America belonging to the crown of Spain. By the treaty of Amiens, in 1802, it was ceded to our crown in perpetuity.

To give permanency to the establishment of a newly-acquired territory, must always be the work of caution, of circumspection, and of time. The removal of ancient prejudices, which have, through a series of ages, acquired all the influence of natural habit, demands calculations which must wind through human actions, as well as trace them in their relative connexions and remotest consequences. The latent purposes and propensities of the human heart diffuse themselves in an almost infinite variety of directions; and experience has shewn us, that there are cases where violence will be productive of the most fatal effects, though persuasion can have no access. At present, the Roman Catholic religion, with the old Spanish attachment to its most rigid discipline and frivolous superstitions, prevails throughout the island; and, perhaps, a generation must elapse, before these superstitions, which have taken deep root, will be wholly extirpated.

To form a permanent settlement, the lands also must be examined with more exactness than that which submits to general description in historical detail. The distinct portions must be adjusted to all the various species of production and cultivation; the soil and its uses must be adapted to one another; and experiment, after a process of years, must finally complete what observation and general knowledge only can begin.

To investigate with accuracy these hitherto uncultivated regions, Colonel Fullarton, with two or three other commissioners, were sent out. The Colonel is since dead; but the survey and report of those who have succeeded him in the inquiry, respecting the exact state of those lands which may be deemed best fitted for cultivation, will, in some measure, determine the extent of commerce and population that may be expected to appear in this island in the progress of a few years. Its general character appearing advantageous, has already dissipated gloomy apprehensions, and induced many to anticipate that prosperity which promises to crown their endeavors with success.

The certainty that this colony was to be established under a British form of government has already drawn multitudes to these distant shores. Intelligence has lately been received, that no less than ten thousand persons, of different countries and of different professions, have lately arrived, with a view of establishing themselves and families on the island. These settlers will, of course, introduce new customs, new habits of reflection, and new modes of life. Example, ever more powerful than precept, may have a tendency to soften the violence of hereditary prejudice; it must loosen those shackles which bind the mental powers; it must enlarge the horizon of human thought, and may, through Divine grace, awaken to reflection the souls of the most superstitious devotees.

From the establishment of a British government we necessarily infer an establishment of religious toleration; which will open the door to the introduction of the gospel, and call forth the exertions of the evangelical ministers of Jesus Christ. The circumstances that we have enumerated render these pleasing prospects highly probable. We contemplate them with pleasure, and wait their arrival with confidence and joy. The habits of thinking which must be introduced by such an influx of people cannot but be various; many therefore, without doubt, will, through the blessing of God, be prepared for a reception of those divine realities which are able to make them wise unto salvation.

The Missionary society, originally established under the direction of the Reverend John Wesley, whose exertions have been crowned with such success in other islands of this Archipelago, will avail themselves of the earliest favorable opportunity, of sending some pious ministers into this island. That period they hope is fast approaching: it is their duty to plant and water, and to pray to the Father of Mercies for success. Without the divine blessing, every exertion must prove abortive; but he who has hitherto blessed their endeavors, still continues his promises; and on these we rely for final success.

CHAP. XVII.

HISTORY OF GRENADA.

Grenada and the Grenadines.—Situation.—Extent.—Discovery.—Original inhabitants.—Conquest.—Cruelties toward the unfortunate Savages.—Settlement.—Internal dissention among the invaders.—Revolutions.—Population; and ravages of the yellow fever.—Topographical divisions.—Establishments, intrigues, and domestic animosities.—Towns.—Harbours.—Religious edifices.—Civil government, and natural productions.—Author's first visit to the island.—Reception.—Friendships.—Prospects —Establishment of a Mission.—Progress of the gospel; and present state of religion in the island.

THIS valuable British colony, though smaller than Tobago, if its length alone were measured, being only twenty-four miles, is much broader in its centre, which is reckoned to be twelve miles; but toward the extremities, it is narrower. It is one of the Windward Charaibee Islands, is thirty leagues north west of Tobago, and the same distance south west from Barbadoes. It is situated in 12° 30″ north latitude, and 62° west longitude. The extraordinary fertility of the soil has been proved by long experience; and it is acknowledged, that the timber and other useful trees which abound in this island, are much better than those of the same species in the neighbouring islands, the cocoa-tree excepted. It is computed to contain upwards of eighty thousand acres of land, fifty thousand of which are in a state of perfect cultivation, producing sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, cotton, and tobacco; and, if it were in a course of progressive improvement, it might be made the most productive, in proportion to its size, of any of the British settlements in the West Indies.

The cultivated land produces every kind of vegetable known in Europe, for the use of the inhabitants; as well as the usual products for exportation, such as sugar, ginger, and excellent tobacco. The air in general is salubrious.

It is amply supplied with springs of good fresh water. The plains are intersected with a few mountains; and the harbor *to leeward* is so capacious, that it will contain a fleet of sixty ships of the line, which may ride there with ease, and with so much safety that they need not cast anchor; though, if necessity require it, the anchorage is remarkably good.

This island was first discovered by Columbus about the year 1498. It was at that time inhabited by a numerous race of native Charaibees. Of this intrepid and warlike people we have already spoken in our third chapter of the first volume. On the approach of the Spaniards toward their shores, they not only exhibited marks of the most stern defiance, but appeared to be well prepared to defend their country against the hostile attempts of their invaders. But Grenada, holding forth no promises of gold, afforded no allurements to entice them to her shores. Land and wood abounded on every island; it would, therefore, have been a mark of consummate folly in the adventurers, to have entered into all the severities of contest with a savage people, from whom nothing valuable could be obtained; and when, even admitting the issue to have been successful, woods and uncultivated lands must have been the only spoils of war.

The prospect of easier, of richer, and of more extensive discoveries, afforded no time for deliberation on the reduction of this island. The impetuosity and promptitude of action which the important occasion inspired, deterred them from attempting any settlement, and directed their attention to more accessible regions of the new world. Under these circumstances, Grenada appears to have been either neglected or forgotten; in consequence of which, its native inhabitants were permitted to enjoy tranquillity and independence, till nearly the middle of the sixteenth century.

It was about the year 1638, that the French became acquainted with the extraordinary fertility of this island; and from that time they meditated a settlement upon it, either by violence or fraud. Whether the intervening years were taken up in reconnoitering the island, in estimating the population of its inhabitants, in calculating upon their mode of warfare, in making preparations for the enterprize, or in giving stability to those settlements which they had already begun in Martinico and Guadaloupe, does not appear; but it is evident, that the settlement was not established in Grenada until the year 1651.

Previously to this time, the artifices of fraud had in a great measure prevented the calamities and horrors of war.

But these methods, eventually proving ineffectual, were soon succeeded by those sanguinary deeds which usually stain the annals of conquest, and which, in the present instance, proved in this island the extermination of the Charaibean race.

The restless ambition of Du Parquet, the Governor of Martinico, had directed his avaricious eyes towards this island. The prospect of conquest must have promised gratification to his vanity; and the possession of a territory which he did not want, though drenched with the blood of all its natives, must have tempted his sanguinary disposition with a reward. With these views before him, he planned its reduction; his schemes finally succeeded, and the unhappy savages fell.

Thus far the different historians of these events seem perfectly agreed; but, on the methods that were adopted to obtain the destruction of the natives and possession of the island, a difference of opinion prevails. Raynal observes, that "on their arrival, they gave a few hatchets, some knives, "and a barrel of brandy, to the chief of the savages they found "there; and, imagining that they had purchased the island "with these trifles, actually assumed the sovereignty, and "soon became tyrants. The Charaibees, unable to contend "with them by open force, took the method which weakness "always inspires to repel oppression; they murdered all "whom they found defenceless and alone." (vol. v. p. 60.)

Du Tertre, who appears deeply interested in the transaction, relates the same facts with an air of solemnity, which might at once provoke our indignation, and excite our smiles. That the French had any pretension for invading this island, he does not even presume to assert: it was sufficiently known that it was inhabited by savages; and this circumstance was, probably, thought sufficient to extract all injustice from the deed. Du Parquet, according to this account, having collected about two hundred of his fiercest desperadoes, caused them, in conjunction with their commanders, to receive the *holy sacrament* on their embarkation; estimating, most probably, the success of their enterprize, by their ardor to serve God in embruing their hands in savage blood.

On their arrival at Grenada, a cross was erected; and the banditti were compelled to kneel before it, and join in devout prayer to God for success in those murders which they were about to perpetrate.

Contrary to his expectations, and probably in opposition to his hopes, Du Parquet was received by the natives with

a degree of civility which created in his mind some scruples on the justice of his intentions; and, instead of commencing open hostilities, he turned his thoughts to the purchase of that country, which he came with the avowed design to steal. A treaty was immediately opened with the Charaibean chief, for what the invaders called the purchase of the country—"They gave (says *Du Tertre)* some knives and hatchets, "and a *large quantity* of glass beads, besides two bottles "of brandy for the chief himself; and thus was the island "fairly ceded by the natives themselves to the French nation "in lawful purchase."

The Charaibees, however, looking upon *the hatchets, the knives, the beads,* and the *two bottles of brandy,* in a light somewhat different from *Du Tertre* and *Du Parquet,* absolutely refused to surrender their country, which they had thus *ceded to their invaders in lawful purchase.* This circumstance presented a fair occasion for the commencement of hostilities: the natives were, therefore, declared to be in a state of rebellion against the lawful possessors of the land, and war and devastation immediately began.

Du Parquet, who had commanded the expedition, being Governor of Martinico, after having purchased Grenada as before related, and erected a fort, gave the command of it to La Compte, his kinsman, and retired. Whether La Compte made religion his stalking-horse, like his predecessor, does not appear; but his conduct towards the unhappy victims of his injustice, plainly proves that he was not less inhuman, nor took less delight in the shedding of human blood. Extermination appeared to be the object which was pursued. To be a Charaib was a proof of guilt: so that men, women, and children, were indiscriminately put to the sword.

The Charaibees, however, defended themselves with the most undaunted resolution and bravery; so that the final issue from many skirmishes appeared to hang in the most doubtful suspense. For, though they were unable to withstand the superiority of European weapons, they supplied by vigilance what they were deficient in power. And by seizing every defenceless moment which their invaders afforded, they retaliated those murders which their countrymen had sustained, and which they themselves were shortly to undergo.

La Compte, harassed by the unremitting watchfulness and bravery of the natives, was driven to the necessity of applying to Du Parquet for a reinforcement, to assist in

quelling the rebellion, and in the reduction of the island. On the arrival of this reinforcement from Martinico, new scenes of devastation were opened. The natives, overpowered by a decided superiority, fell in almost every direction, though they missed no opportunity to revenge their wrongs. But the moment was fast approaching, which was to decide their doom in this world, and annihilate their power for ever.

The unhappy Indians collected together about fourscore from the remnants of their countrymen; and with this number they determined to make a vigorous stand against their murderous oppressors. But, alas! about one-half of them were immediately put to flight. These unhappy fugitives, retiring from their pursuers, betook themselves to a rock or precipice which overhangs the sea. But this retreat was soon discovered, and they were driven to the dreadful alternative of suffering death either by water or by the sword. They preferred the former; and chose rather to precipitate themselves headlong into the ocean, than to fall into the hands of a barbarous enemy, that appeared thirsting for their blood. The French, to commemorate an event so extraordinary, denominated this precipice *le Morne des Sauteurs*, "the hill of the leapers;" which appellation it retains to the present day.*

The inhuman conquerors having murdered the natives, and subdued the country, soon quarrelled about dividing the spoils. The officers of the troops, who first settled on the island, disputing the claims of the leaders of the last expedition, a civil war ensued, and in this contest many lives were lost. At length, the original invader Du Parquet, and his party, prevailed, and obtained complete possession of the government. But being unable to support the expenses of his elevated station, he negociated privately, in France, the sale of his newly-acquired honors and domains in Grenada; and found a purchaser in the *Count de Cerillac*, a French nobleman, for the trifling sum, in comparison with the real value, of thirty thousand crowns. The Count, con-

* Du Tertre observes, that in this expedition a beautiful young Indian girl fell into the hands of the French, and became an object of dispute between two officers, each claiming her as his lawful prize. A third officer, however, coming up, soon put an end to the contest by shooting the girl immediately through the head. Such was the progress of conquest and murder!

sidering the acquisition only in the light of an advantageous purchase, determined to make the most of it; and for this purpose sent out a Governor to act despotically, and by the most oppressive measures to levy an extravagant salary for himself, and a princely revenue for his master. All complaints, all remonstrances to Cerillac, on the conduct of his deputy, proved ineffectual to produce an alteration. Thus circumstanced, the principal settlers abandoned the plantations which they had improved at a considerable expense, and fled to Martinico. This defection, however, instead of reforming the Governor, raised his indignation to such a pitch against the poorer classes of the inhabitants, whom he thought incapable of resisting fresh cruelties and extortions, that existence itself became almost insupportable; so that, instead of yielding to tyranny, they meditated revenge.

There are occasions when avarice and cruelty defeat their own purposes, and directly lead to those mischiefs which they intended to avert. The cord of oppression may be drawn with such violence as to burst asunder, by those exertions which are made to strain it; and under such circumstances, the parts which separate can never be brought to reunite. It was exactly thus in the case before us. That unjustifiable extortion which had banished the wealthy, and oppressed the poor, led at length to a general insurrection. The inflexible tyrant was seized; and a court of justice was instantly formed. It was composed of such of the lower people as his tyranny had suffered to remain on the island, and who were exasperated by those crimes for which he was now to suffer. There was only one, in this whole court, who could write his name; the office of secretary, therefore, of course devolved upon him. His Excellency the Governor, being brought to trial, was impeached by a blacksmith; who used a horse-shoe instead of a seal, to close those documents which were to be sent to France with a detail of these extraordinary transactions.

Accusation and impeachment, as it is natural to suppose under these circumstances, were but a prelude to condemnation. The criminal was found guilty of those offences with which he stood charged, and received sentence of death. Against the decision of such a court, there could be no appeal. He had been condemned to be hanged; but this became a subject of expostulation. He pleaded his exalted rank and noble descent, and solicited the honor of being beheaded. Against this, some objections were raised,

and the request was finally refused for want of an expert executioner. They, however, found means to compromise the matter, and discovered a middle mode of death, between the ignominy of the gallows and the honor of decapitation. It was finally agreed, on all sides, that he should be shot; and in this manner he quietly submitted to his fate.

The chief justice of this mock tribunal, together with the rest of the judges, and other persons concerned in the execution, apprehensive that the court of France would not approve of this extraordinary trial, which had been attended with such unusual formalities, began to consult their own safety. For, how just soever the cause of their complaint might have been, they were fully conscious that they had exposed themselves to punishment, by acting in opposition to a lawfully-constituted authority. In consequence of this, the parties concerned thought it prudent to quit the island, and seek an asylum against the approaching storm. And such, indeed, was the reduced state of its population in the year 1700, that the following estimate was delivered to the Count's new Governor, soon after the revolt: white people two hundred and fifty-one, free mulattoes and negroes fifty-three, negro slaves five hundred and twenty-five. The whole culture consisted of three plantations of sugar, and fifty-two of indigo; and there then remained only sixty-four horses, and five hundred and sixty-nine head of horned cattle.

This deplorable state of the island was happily changed about the year 1714; for the avaricious Count de Cerillac, finding he could no longer expect a revenue equal to his wishes from a ruined colony, made over all his right and property in it to the French West India Company. That company, having likewise a considerable interest and establishments at Martinico, engaged the merchants and planters there in speculations, to restore and improve the culture of Grenada. Thus the two colonies became, as it were, united by the ties of commercial interest. The trading vessels of Martinico, laden with the rich manufactures of France, and the products of their own colony, destined for the Spanish coasts, were ordered to touch at Grenada. There they were to take in water and other necessaries, and at the same time to supply the inhabitants, many of whom were new settlers from Martinico, with slaves, and proper implements for the cultivation of the soil, and for erecting new habitations, and sugar works. An open mercantile account was now established between the two islands; and the activity which industry excites, soon enabled Grenada to

liquidate a considerable part of its debts, by the abundant produce of its increased plantations. But, when the French West India Company was dissolved, the island became the property of the crown of France: by which change, it acquired the protection and assistance of that government. Its advancement and importance were now yearly increasing; insomuch, that the balance due to Martinico was on the point of being discharged, when the war which broke out between us and France suspended the progress of its improvement, and interrupted its intercourse with Martinico.

The cessation of hostilities, and the ensuing peace of 1748, revived all the labors, and opened all the former sources of wealth. The inhabitants redoubled their efforts, and succeeded so well, that at the end of five years, i. e. in 1753, the population of Grenada consisted of one thousand two hundred and sixty-three whites, one hundred and seventy-five free people of color, and eleven thousand nine hundred and ninety-one slaves. The number of horses and mules amounted to two thousand two hundred and ninety-eight, and the horned cattle to two thousand four hundred and fifty-six; together with three thousand two hundred and seventy-eight sheep, nine hundred and two goats, and three hundred and thirty-one hogs. The cultivation rose to eighty-three sugar plantations; two millions seven hundred and twenty-five thousand six hundred coffee trees, one hundred and fifty thousand three hundred cocoa trees, and eight hundred cotton trees. Their stock of common vegetable provision consisted of five millions seven hundred and forty thousand four hundred and fifty trenches of cassada, nine hundred and thirty-three thousand five hundred and ninety-six banana trees, and one hundred and forty-three squares of potatoes and yams.

This rapid prosperity was succeeded by another vicissitude---a new war with England in 1755, when the colony was neglected by the French ministry, whose attention was engrossed by more important objects on the continents of Europe and America. The result of this false policy was the capture of Grenada, and the other Charaibee islands, then belonging to France, by the superior naval power of Great Britain. On receiving intelligence that Martinico and Guadaloupe had been taken by the British naval and land forces, in 1762, the inhabitants of this island surrendered on the approach of the fleet and army, without making the least resistance, having obtained an honorable capitulation. And by the treaty of peace in the following year, Grenada, and its dependencies, (small islands called the Grenadines,) were ceded in perpetuity to the crown of Great Britain.

In the course of the next war, the French once more became masters of Grenada by conquest; and it remained in their possession from the year 1779 till 1783; when it was finally restored to us by an article of the general peace between Great Britain, France, Spain, and America.

It is to be lamented, that soon after that æra, owing to political dissensions between the old French inhabitants, and the new British settlers, a temporary decline of cultivation, and consequently of foreign commerce, was experienced. The exports, in 1787, were considerably less than those of the year 1776; and of late years, it has suffered other calamities, of which the following affecting relation is given by Dr. Chisholm, inspector-general of the ordnance medical department in the West Indies.*

"Since the year 1794, this devoted island, together with the scourge of pestilence, has cruelly experienced all the evils which an insidious, a merciless intestine enemy could devise, and give efficacy to. Blessed with abundance of those good things which are considered as the necessaries of life, united under a mild and fostering government, and enjoying that tranquillity, which their unhappy neighbours in the French islands in vain looked for, from the machinations of designing and unprincipled demagogues, or from the dreams of theorists in philanthropy, their only wish was to be permanently relieved from the infection of a disease, which had hitherto but imperfectly yielded to the best means that could be suggested. The usual series of such awful visitations was, however, reversed; pestilence began the career; civil war augmented, and famine, for a time combined with these, seemed to complete the measure of their misfortunes. The year 1795 produced a scene of horrors seldom equalled. Confined to the narrow limits which their arms could command, almost all the inhabitants of the island were exposed to the common calamity. The certainty of massacre, should they remain on their plantations, drove all the inhabitants of the country into town; where an almost equal certainty of falling victims to pestilential infection awaited them. The great increase of new subjects to act on, which thus took place, augmented the virulence of contagion; and, seconded by fear, fatigue, a privation of accustomed food and comforts, despondence of mind, intemperance and irregularities of conduct, gave rise to even a greater mortality than marked

* See an Essay on the Malignant Pestilential Fever, introduced into the West India Islands. By C. Chisholm, M. D. 2 vols. 8vo. London: published by Mawman, 1801.

the two preceding years. The young and the aged; the unhabituated and the assimilated to the climate; the temperate and the dissipated, equally suffered by it. People who had hitherto carefully avoided the source of infections, and had scarce ever visited the town since the introduction of the pestilence, now perceived that their sedulity had only warded off, not prevented, the evil hour. Men who had long resided in the climate, and considered themselves as secure against the attacks of the usual diseases incident to it, found that assimilation to climate was no security against the undiscriminating malignity of this contagion. Those who, from a peculiarity of constitution, had escaped infection hitherto, now fell sacrifices to it.

"The contagion pervaded every quarter of the town: the fortresses were, as usual, particularly exposed to it; the ships employed in the departments of government, more especially the hospital ships, became sinks of pestilence; but, as formerly, the resorts of low dissipation seemed to possess it in a degree of concentration almost peculiar to themselves. Whilst this calamity threatened universal destruction, an unhappy contrariety of opinions, a want of decision in the measures pursued, the formidable appearance of a barbarous and implacable enemy, to whom these circumstances gave a strength which, if properly exerted, must have proved fatal; prevented the general mind from perceiving or adopting the means of eradicating the infection. Almost every house was considered as the abode of death: the intercourse of the inhabitants, therefore, experienced an almost total cessation, except when defence against the common enemy demanded united exertion. Funerals were not permitted; or were not attended; and, in most instances, the bodies of the deceased were dragged out to sea, and deposited in a watery grave."

Insurrections and fires, in addition to the yellow fever, desolated the island; and the contagion did not entirely cease till the year 1798. The restoration of health, the return of peace, the fertility of the soil, and the assistance it will receive from its mercantile connexions with the united kingdom of Great Britain, hold out, however, a prospect of its future prosperity excelling that of its former state at any given period.

Grenada is divided into six parishes, of which the principal is St. George's, so named after the capital town; St. David's, St. Andrew's, St. Patrick's, St. Mark's, and St. John's. The largest of the Grenadines, *Cariacou*, is a distinct parish, having its own church and rector. Provision for the clergy of the church of England could not be per-

manently appointed by the law of the island till the year 1784, on account of the unsettled state of its ecclesiastical appointments, after the cession of the island to Great Britain, in virtue of the peace of 1763. In this interim, a strong contest arose respecting the claims of the French Roman Catholics, who found means to prevail with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to grant them certain privileges, which were considered as incompatible with a British constitution, and contradictory to the royal proclamation, which promised the establishment of a government conformable to the principles of that constitution. These privileges were, also, in direct opposition to the advice of Governor General Melville, the then existing Council, the Speaker, and the majority of the members of the house of Assembly, or Commons. As it was in virtue of the conditions offered to the King's Protestant subjects, who might emigrate from any other part of his Majesty's dominions, that several persons of that description purchased lands, and settled with their families on the island, it was thought extremely hard, and even unjust, to admit Roman Catholic inhabitants to become members of the Council and of the Assembly; since, by the laws of Great Britain, they could not even be candidates for any public station in the government at home. Nor did they so much as express any wish or hope of that kind, when the first Assembly held their session in 1765. But, in 1768, a French agent in London secretly carried on a negociation with our ministry, which finally terminated in a grant, that allowed two of the Roman Catholic inhabitants, formerly French subjects, to be members of the Council; and which declared all of them to be eligible, as representatives of the people in the Assembly, in the same manner as were the Protestants; and, also, authorized them to appoint from among themselves, one justice of peace in each district of the island. Instructions for these purposes were sent out to Governor Melville, who found himself in the disagreeable predicament, of being obliged to enforce measures of which he disapproved, or incur the displeasure of the Secretary of State.

The animosities between the two parties in the island went to such lengths at last, that General Melville either resigned, or was recalled. These religious dissensions impeded the progress of cultivation, and of commerce with foreign countries, and protracted the regular appointment of parochial clergy. Many of the Protestant members of the Assembly were elected; but, for want of a sufficient num-

ber to make a house, public business was at a stand, and the colony remained in an unsettled state for many years.

At length, in 1784, civil, social, and religious order was established, and stipends were granted by an act of the Assembly to five clergymen of the church of England of three hundred and thirty pounds per annum (Grenada money), and sixty pounds for house-rent. These clergymen were distributed in the following manner: *One* for the town and its environs in the parish of St. George;—*three* to do duty by rotation in the five out-parishes; and one at *Cariacou*. This small number would be insufficient, even if they all gave due attention to their sacred functions, and took pains to convert the poor negro slaves.

The glebe lands which had belonged to the Roman Catholic priests, while their religion constituted a part of the government, became the property of the crown, and were granted by his Majesty to the legislature of the island, for the better support of the Protestant churches; deducting a decent allowance for the maintenance of the Roman Catholic priests, who are tolerated for the pastoral care of the French and British inhabitants of that persuasion.

When the town of St. George was first erected, the buildings were chiefly constructed with timber. This article was chosen, because the necessities of the inhabitants were urgent, and because it enabled them to prosecute their designs with greater expedition and less expense, than if they had selected more durable materials. This circumstance exposed the town to the ravages of a dreadful fire, which, in the year 1771, reduced the greater part to a heap of ruins. The people, thus painfully instructed, took every necessary precaution to prevent a recurrence of the calamity which they had experienced. The new town, which was destined to rise upon the ashes of the old one, they laid out on a plan of greater regularity and extent, and raised the walls of most of the houses with brick. This gives to the whole an appearance of great uniformity and beauty. The government-house, which is an elegant edifice, the church, and an antiquated fort which stands on an adjacent promontory, and is a building of considerable extent, are all formed of stone.

Nearly through the middle of the town runs a kind of natural rampart, on the ridge of which the church is erected. This rampart divides the town into two parts, which are distinguished by local appellations. Both of these open to the sea, one on each side of the hill which projects into the water, and contributes to the formation of the harbor,

and to ensure that shelter, which ships, equipped either for trade or war, are always sure to find. On the one side is *Bay-town*, and on the other *Carenage-town*. In the former is the government-house, a commodious market-place, and an elegant square; and in the latter, the merchants and others, who are engaged in commercial transactions, take up their abodes. Before the latter town lies the harbor, which affords excellent anchorage, and a considerable depth of water close to the wharfs. To this the shipping resort, to repair the damage they may have sustained at sea, and to take in their respective cargoes for foreign markets. The entrance into it is by no means difficult: but, what chiefly tends to enhance its importance is, that through the intersection of the neighbouring lands, the ships are completely sheltered from the injurious violence of every wind that blows.

Besides George-town, there are numbers of others scattered through different parts of the island; but they are too inconsiderable to merit any distinct description. They have been erected at the various bays and inlets, to which vessels resort to take in the productions of the contiguous plantations; and consist of a greater or less number of houses, in proportion to the advantageous nature of those creeks which invite the traders to their shores. On the little isle of Cariacou, which is one of the appendages of Grenada, is a respectable little town, which, during the administration of Lord Hillsborough, obtained the name of that nobleman.

Through some causes, which have not yet been fully explored, the inhabitants of Grenada and its appendages, both whites and blacks, have been for a series of years gradually on the decline. The pestilential fever, which raged with unexampled violence during a few summers, will sufficiently account for the sudden diminution of the inhabitants in these periods; but, the decrease of which we speak, was gradually felt, and publicly noticed, long before these ravages were known. In 1771, the white inhabitants amounted to about one thousand six hundred; in 1777, they were reduced to one thousand three hundred; and are at present supposed not to exceed one thousand souls. The vicissitudes which war has occasioned in this island have, without all doubt, operated considerably to the disadvantage of the planter; and introduced a degree of lassitude into his conduct, which a stability of government would have rendered unknown. In 1779, the number of slaves amounted to thirty-five thousand; at present they are considerably short of twenty-six thousand.

These observations extend to its dependencies, and include their various inhabitants, as well as those of Grenada.

The civil government of this island bears a strong resemblance to that of Jamaica, differing only in such local regulations and subordinate particulars, as occasional circumstances call into being. The privileges, however, enjoyed by such persons as have obtained their freedom, are much greater in Grenada than in most other islands. They are permitted to hold possessions to the utmost amount which they can legally acquire, and are entitled to the protection of the law, equally, in most respects, to the whites, but without being eligible to public offices. In all the courts of justice and law, their evidences are deemed as valid as those given by the whites; and if criminal charges are brought against them, they must be attended with the same formalities. But these immunities are somewhat restricted in their application. They extend to all such as were free on the island when it last fell into our hands, and likewise to all their descendants. Every native subject stands on the same footing; but all aliens, who come merely as temporary visitants, or even to take up a more permanent residence, are totally excluded.

The Governor of Grenada, like the Governors of most other islands belonging to the British empire in the West Indies, holds a station of considerable honor and authority, though less lucrative than many others. The various powers which the chancellor, vice-admiral, and ordinary, possess, are inseparable from his office; and in all these respective courts he presides alone. His residence, however, on the island is rendered necessary, by the principles of its constitution. No excuses whatever can justify his absence for more than twelve months, except those which arise from an express command of his Majesty, or an evident want of health. Should his absence on any other occasion exceed the stipulated period, his salary immediately ceases with the expiration of the term. This salary, which amounts to about one thousand pounds sterling per annum, arises from a poll-tax, which is levied on all the slaves on the island; so that each planter contributes in proportion to the number which he holds.

The other branches of the legislature consist of a council and an assembly. The former is composed of twelve members, and the latter of twenty-six. The nomination of the council is vested solely in the crown; and the members of

the assembly are chosen by the suffrages of such freeholders as are eligible to vote. The qualification for a candidate in the town and country, are somewhat different. A freehold or life inheritance arising from house-rent, amounting to fifty pounds per annum, is all that is required in the former case. In the latter, an estate consisting of fifty acres, held during life, satisfies the demands of the constitution, and qualifies the possessor for a seat in the assembly. The same proportional variation is preserved in the eligibility of those freeholders in town and country, who vote the members into office. An annual rent amounting to twenty pounds in the town of St. George, whether arising from freehold or a life estate, gives the possessor a right to vote for that place. And in each of the out-parishes, an estate consisting of ten acres, whether in fee, or only for life, or an annual rent of ten pounds, confers the same qualification for their respective departments.

The forms of proceedings, and the decisions of the courts of justice and of law, are precisely similar to those of the other British West India Islands. Indeed, their constitutions bear a strong resemblance to one another; and as far as local circumstances will admit, they all look up to the mother-country, and endeavor to adopt her examples. To enter, therefore, into any minute detail, would only be to repeat what has been already given in the history of Jamaica, with such trifling variations, as must for ever be inseparable from islands which are detached from one another.

The unfortunate Africans have found in the island of Grenada, and its dependencies, a degree of humanity, liberality, and indulgence, which not many of their sable brethren can boast of in any other part of this Archipelago. Several laws have been passed, from time to time, in their behalf. And, admitting the previous principle to be just, not many, perhaps, of the human race, who are held in bondage, have less reason to complain of severity than these. But the previous principle has been publicly condemned by a solemn decision of the British legislature. This glorious deed will confer upon our country more lasting honors than her most brilliant successes:—honors that are interwoven with laurels which will never fade,—that will shine with renewed lustre in the page of future history, and be repeated with smiles and tears of joy by nations which are yet unborn.

Of the natural history of Grenada we have nothing very remarkable to relate, except a brief account of an animal called by the Indians a tatore, and by the Spaniards an ar-

madillo; which, acording to *du Tertre*, and *Rochefort*, who probably copied from him, will not live on any other island of the West Indies. But these are idle tales. It is certain, however, that these do not breed so well in any other island, and that they abound in all parts of Grenada. They are about the size of a pig of a month's growth. The head is small, long, and pointed, like that of a fox; the mouth is well armed with sharp teeth; the eyes and ears are small. The back is entirely covered with scales in small circles: the tail has no hair, but is covered, likewise, with scales. The legs are short and thick, and it has four claws to each of its four feet. Occasionally it rolls itself like a ball, concealing its head and tail within its shell. The flesh of this animal is white, fat, and delicate; but requires to be well seasoned with spices, being rather insipid. The fruits and vegetables of this island do not vary from those of the other islands of the West Indies. The coast abounds with a variety of fish; and there is plenty of game, both in Grenada and the Grenadines.

The Grenadines are a set of small islands, twelve in number, dependant on the government, and subject to the laws, of Grenada. They are of different extents, from three to eight leagues in circumference. Most of them might be cultivated to advantage, were it not prevented by the want of fresh water; not a single spring being found in any of them.

The principal Grenadine is Cariacou. It contains nearly seven thousand acres of fertile land, which, by the industrious hand of cultivation, has been rendered very productive, and consequently advantageous. The first who attempted any settlement upon it were some French fishermen, who frequented its solitary shores for the purpose of catching turtles, and employed their leisure in clearing the ground, for the purposes of agriculture. In process of time, they were joined by a considerable emigration of their countrymen from Guadaloupe; whose plantations having been destroyed by a peculiar species of ants, they sought for a new soil in Cariacou, where, they were informed, their industry might be profitably employed, and amply rewarded. These new settlers, having brought with them a certain number of slaves, applied themselves so assiduously to the cultivation of cotton in particular, that they were soon enabled to purchase more slaves; so that, at the peace of 1763, when Grenada and its dependencies were ceded in perpetuity to Great Britain, the revenue from the annual produce of the exportation of

cotton was computed at four or five hundred thousand livres, taking one year with another—on a medium, about nineteen thousand five hundred pounds sterling. Its fertility encouraged a more general cultivation by the British planters, who have considerably increased its population and commerce; insomuch, that it now produces, in seasonable years, above a *million* of pounds weight of cotton for exportation. In addition to this, there is an abundant supply of corn, together with common food which is in use for the slaves, such as yams, plantains, &c. There are but two plantations of sugar on this island; the cultivation of this article not having succeeded so well as that of cotton; though, according to the Abbe Raynal, the French had found its cultivation remarkably successful in another of the Grenadines, which he calls *Becouya*, and describes its situation to be not more than two leagues distant from St. Vincent's. It is remarkable, that this author calls it the largest and most fertile of all the islands; yet Edwards makes not the least mention of it.

L'Isle Ronde is a small island, situated about half way from Cariacou to the northern extremity of Grenada. It contains about five hundred acres of well-cultivated land, and affords good pasturage for fattening cattle for the use of the inhabitants of Cariacou. It also yields an overplus for Grenada: a small portion, however, is planted with cotton trees. Most of the other Grenadines are either uninhabited, or so poorly peopled, and so little cultivated, that they do not merit particular notice. The air, however, so far as they have either been visited or inhabited, has been found remarkably wholesome. This peculiar salubrity has been attributed to the openness of their situation. As there are no trees to shelter the noxious vapors which, in general, prove fatal to the first settlers, the sun has been permitted to act upon the whole surface of the land without any obstructions, and to remove those effluvia, which, in more woody islands, the actions of his rays have been unable to reach.

Having taken a general survey of the island of Grenada, and contemplated its history in its original, its natural, and civil departments, the progress of the gospel now claims our immediate regard. We have already observed, that in the year 1784, five clergymen of the Church of England were established in this island, and placed in the several parishes into which the whole territory had been divided. But how ardent soever the desires of the pious in the West India Islands might have been to spread the gospel of Christ, the white inhabitants have been almost the sole objects of

their attention. The benighted African has, in general, been disregarded, and considered, in relation to futurity, as an outcast from the works of God.

It was a conviction of this truth, operating in its various branches, that gave rise to the Missionary Society established by the Rev. John Wesley. It is to fill up this vast vacuity, and to supply this melancholy defect, that the labors of its ministers have been directed in these distant islands; and it is to their successes that we shall now direct our thoughts. It was with an eye to this object, that the author of these pages forsook his native land, and proceeded from island to island, to spread among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to lead them, through divine grace, from the darkness of pagan idolatry, into that light, which the gospel has diffused through the world.

In the history of Antigua, the early introduction of the gospel, and the instruments whose labors God has blessed in a singular manner, will be seen recorded somewhat at large. In the history of that island, those peculiar features of divine providence which baffle all calculation, and excite our grateful admiration, while they bid defiance to our full comprehension, will be particularly noticed. We must, therefore, refer the reader to that account, for a supply of those deficiencies which are unavoidably connected with the history of this and of other islands. From that island, it will be seen, that the gospel spread into others, through a train of connexions, which the providence of God seems evidently to have called into existence. Following the leadings of that providence which has hitherto been our guide, and having no previously-concerted plan, every island afforded us employment, because every island abounded with vice. The swarms of uncultivated negroes who inhabited every spot, living without either hopes or fears of an hereafter, afforded a most melancholy spectacle; and, in many cases, their aversion to the gospel became with us an additional motive for its introduction among them. Impelled thus, both by duty and inclination, diminutive objects were scarcely considered in the light of impediments: they occasionally retarded those exertions which were urged by our most sanguine hopes; but they rather produced perseverance than apathy and languor. In every region of the globe the carnal mind is enmity against God; and he who waits till the arrival of a period, when the unsanctified propensities of the human heart shall cordially approve of those truths which shall destroy their dominion, waits the arrival of such a

phenomenon, as the world has not hitherto been able to afford.

Confident of this truth, the author of these volumes sailed from St. Vincent's (an island which he had visited from similar motives), on the 27th of November, 1790, for that of Grenada, at which he arrived on the following day. In this voyage he was accompanied by Mr. Baxter; who, for several years preceding, had taken up his residence in Antigua, and had formed an acquaintance with many respectable inhabitants in several of the other islands. Mr. Baxter being well known in Antigua, as well as to many who occasionally visited it either for business or pleasure, became a medium of introduction, through which we obtained access to those who appeared most inclined to favor our design.

On our arrival at Grenada, we first waited upon a Mr. Lynch, of the town of St. George. This gentleman had formerly lived in Antigua, had shewn himself friendly to the gospel, and was, at that time, an acquaintance of Mr. Baxter. By Mr. Lynch we were received with politeness; were entertained with the warmth of friendship; and accommodated with comfortable lodgings. Being the Lord's day, we repaired to the Established Church, though at a time which unavoidable necessity rendered late. The reverend Mr. Dent, the officiating minister, was in the midst of his sermon, surrounded by a respectable congregation, many of whom felt themselves interested in those truths which were delivered as the genuine emanations of his heart.

There is a certain something in the expression and gesture, which distinguishes the genuine minister of Jesus Christ from the mere official character: the latter surveys his routine of duty as a task; the former aims at the benefit of those souls that are committed to his care. The latter moves heavily through the drudgery of his office, and engages in its performance to cancel obligations; while the former feels himself interested in the truths which he delivers, and adopts every expedient to impress conviction on the mind. The christian world is but too much chequered with those motley characters, that seem to move by mere mechanical impulse. The West Indies will furnish us with many unpleasant examples; but then it must be remembered also, that Grenada has furnished a Mr. Dent, whose character forms a striking contrast, and gives a deeper coloring to the opposite shades.

After the service was ended, we waited on this pious minister in the vestry-room, and were received by him with

every mark of truly christian kindness. He entered into our views, so far as the occasion would afford us time to unfold them, expressed his approbation of our designs, and introduced us to several serious colored people, who were then with him. His letters, which we shall have some occasion to insert hereafter, will sufficiently show, that his friendship was not the result of a momentary paroxysm, excited by novelty and supported by complaisance, but flowed from a heart that had been softened by Divine grace, and which rejoiced in hope of seeing many souls converted to God.

To Mr. Dent I was not altogether unknown. When I visited Barbadoes in the year 1788, he was curate of Bridgetown, in that island. At that time he manifested much of the same spirit; and exposed himself to much censure, because he would not set his face against those who, he had reason to believe, were sent of God; and who aimed at the salvation of souls. It is but justice to say of Mr. Dent, that he was, at that time, the only clergyman in these islands who had avowedly shown any regard for the Methodists. He defended them in every company that afforded him an occasion, even at the expense of his own personal reputation. Thus did he continue, till he became a subject of reproach; when that amicable man, General Matthews, the Governor of Grenada and Commander-in-chief of the forces in the Charaibee Islands, selected him out, and presented him with the living of St. George's, in Grenada, which he held at the time that we visited the island.

Having taken our leave of Mr. Dent, we seized the earliest opportunity of waiting upon the General, to communicate to him the purport of our visit, that we might estimate how far it met with his concurrence and approbation. We found him perfectly accessible, communicative, and free. He honored us with about an hour's conversation; during which time, he inquired into the design of our visit,—the object we had in view,—the doctrines we taught,—and the principles by which we were governed. To these various questions our answers were so far satisfactory, that he begged we would forthwith send Missionaries to the island; declaring at the same time, that it was his earnest wish that the negroes might be fully instructed in the principles of christianity. He at the same time declared his full conviction, that it was not only a branch of duty, which, as men, they had a right to claim at our hands, but that it would make them better servants, and instruct them to fill up all the relative situations which they were destined to sustain in life.

Instead, therefore, of viewing us as men who attempted to oppose the regular establishment, he considered us as co-operating in the same common design, observing, "*there "will be work enough both for you and the established "clergy of the island.*"

To language so undisguised and so ardent, expressive of wishes so cordial, we had no room left for indecision. We promised him, without further hesitation, that a Missionary should be forthwith sent to the island; and our next consideration was, in what manner we could fulfil our engagement. After this we dined with him; and thereby were introduced to other company; by which means our intentions became more public, and our prospects enlarged for our field of future action.

Among those who dined with us were, the President of the Council, and the Speaker of the Assembly. The Speaker, during our conversation, expressed a strong desire that we would pay him a visit at his seat in the country: offering, at the same time, to supply us with horses; and not only to ride with us through the island, but to introduce us to most of the gentlemen in it. This generous offer, while it demanded our acceptance, could only be requited with grateful acknowledgments; because it would have required time that could not be spared from other engagements.

Thus far the way was clear; a door was now open for the introduction of the gospel among the negroes, and we proceeded to try how far the promises of theory were reducible to practice. Accordingly, in the evening I preached in a large room to a numerous and deeply attentive congregation. But though, in general, those who attended behaved well, even charity will not prevent us from suspecting that some came from motives of curiosity, if not from worse designs. About the middle of my discourse, two or three young men near the door began to be noisy; this broke in upon the silence of the congregation, and in some degree disturbed that deep attention, and evident solemnity, which had apparently rested upon all. This disturbance was however of a transient nature; it lasted but a few minutes, and peace was again restored. For, on my observing on the impropriety of their conduct, that there were magistrates in the island who were disposed to do us justice, whenever we found it necessary to make an appeal, they thought proper either to sink into silence, or to retire from the door; and with them interruption disappeared.

The intelligence of preaching, having been circulated in

the neighbourhood, had drawn together those who were seriously disposed; and, to our surprize, we found, after our service was concluded, that a society of about twenty souls who were seeking after salvation had been already formed on the island, by the pious exertions of a free mulatto, whose name was Painter. This man had formerly lived on the island of Antigua, where he had been a member of our society, and had tasted that the Lord is gracious. Removing to Grenada, through those changes which are inseparable from life, he had carried with him the sacred flame. This, through grace, he had imparted to his fellow-creatures; and God had blessed his endeavors with success. The pious reader may enter into the feelings of these servants of God; and may feel something of that joy which glowed in their hearts, at hearing that same gospel, of the experimental part of which they had known something before, and which they were now about to have established among them. To those who are ignorant of God, these remarks may appear trifling and insignificant; but it is not to these that we exclusively appeal. Those who have known what it is to hunger and thirst after righteousness, will join with those dear Africans in grateful acknowledgments to the Father of all mercies, who makes his providence subservient to his gracious purposes, and feeds his children in the wilderness with the bread of eternal life.

The attention which had been manifested in the evening, induced us to renew our efforts at an early hour, that by this means we might be able to make some distinction between those who were actuated by novelty, and those who were desirous of being instructed in the kingdom of God. With these views, Mr. Baxter preached on the following morning at six o'clock, and was favored with an attentive congregation that nearly filled the room: and so far did he feel his soul warmed with love toward these outcasts of society, that in the course of his preaching he made them a promise, that if no other Missionary could be found to dispense among them the truth as it is in Jesus, he would again revisit the island, take up his residence among them, and become their pastor.

Having business of some importance to transact, I was obliged to remain at our lodgings; which prevented me from joining in the public service. I felt solicitous, however, to speak to the congregation before we took our leave; and had, therefore, requested to be informed when Mr. Baxter concluded his discourse. A negro soon called to let me

know that he had nearly finished; and, at the same time, imparted the following little anecdote respecting himself: "He "had dreamt," he observed, "some time since, that two ministers came to the island for the benefit of the negroes; "and having in his dream leisure to survey them attentively, "(as it appeared to him) and feeling himself interested in the "issue, he took the opportunity to mark their features with "such exactness, that their images were forcibly impressed "upon his memory. And so strongly was the impression "made, that he knew, the instant he saw us enter the "church on the preceding Sunday, that Mr. Baxter and "myself were the men presented to him in his sleep."

Proceeding with this man to the chapel, just as Mr. Baxter had concluded, I gave the people a short exhortation to seek mercy while it might be found, and to accept of those overtures of salvation which were now made to them through the Saviour of the world. Scarcely had we dismissed the congregation, before a genteel black woman, who was free, and possessed of some property, came forward to accost us. Taking brother Painter by the hand, and addressing herself to me, she observed as follows: "Sir, this good man has "kindled a spark among us; and I hope you will send us "assistance, that it may be preserved and increased." I could only renew the promise which I had previously made to the Governor, and confirm that which Mr. Baxter had just made to them. But whether my promise to them, or their anxiety to receive it from me, occasioned the greater joy, I take not upon me to decide. In both cases, it seemed to be the gratification of wishes that were mutual, arising from the same source, and aiming at the same object; how much soever they might be diversified in the manner of their operation.

That morning we breakfasted with Mr. Dent, the worthy minister of St. George's; and soon afterward made a visit to a Mr. Williams, Comptroller of the Customs, and member of the Assembly for the town of St. George. To the truths of the gospel, Mr. Williams was not an entire stranger; he had heard the gospel in England, without its adulteration; and evidenced by his conduct towards us, that he felt an attachment to what he had heard. To persevere in our undertaking he gave us great encouragement, and expressed his desire that we would visit him at his country-house; assuring us, at the same time, that he should be glad to exert himself in behalf of any Missionary we might in

future send; and that nothing in his power should be wanting to promote so laudable an undertaking.

About eleven in the morning, having taken leave of our friends, we quitted the town, and began a journey of about thirty miles, over lofty hills, to a distant part of the island. After having ascended to a considerable height, we found ourselves in a new climate, totally distinct from that of the vales in the torrid zone. On the summit of the highest, we found the air comparatively cold. The action of the solar rays operating upon us, ceased to produce its accustomed effects; and we felt ourselves transported, as in an instant, to those climates which are felt in the northern parts of the temperate regions. Our great coats were not only sufferable, but actually necessary; and we found it convenient to keep them buttoned, to shield us against the cold, which, from our sudden transition, appeared somewhat severe. But these temporary inconveniences were of short duration. Our descent soon brought us again into the tropical region; and the sun quickly acquired his irresistible fierceness.

On this hill we found an excellent inn. The proprietor appeared at once both kind and accommodating; his charges were moderate, and his house was commodious. This is called *Grand Etang*, and derives its name from an extraordinary lake which lies in its vicinity. The lake is deep; it is in itself, as it were, a spacious fountain, which, by subterraneous passages that are invisible to the human eye, supplies, according to common report, no less than twelve diminutive rivers which water the island. It is surrounded by romantic peaks of different elevations, which are covered with trees of various kinds and dimensions.

The adjacent scenery is picturesque and romantic beyond all description. It is a region in which the philosophic mind may survey with pity the votaries of wealth and ambition practising the arts of fraud and injustice; and from whence he may behold mankind immersed in licentious dissipation, pursuing and pursued, each other's prey. Were I disposed to seclude myself from all intercourse with the world, I know of no spot that I should prefer as a place of residence. The varieties of vegetation would furnish the botanist with employment; and an observatory, erected on one of the peaks, would enable the astronomer to trace the various movements of those heavenly bodies, which roll through the etherial vault. Their extensive circles would insensibly expand the mind while engaged in contemplation, and lead

the pious soul to adore that power which communicated motion to their enormous bodies; while a sense of his divine favor would lead it to hold an uninterrupted communion with God. But such a mode of life, how congenial soever it may be to the wishes of individuals, can be of but little benefit to mankind; at best, recluses are "like lamps in sepulchres; their shine enlightens but themselves."

At this inn we met with a servant of *John Rae, Esq.* the gentleman whom we were about to visit. This to us was an agreeable surprize; as the day was declining apace, and we should, otherwise, have found it extremely unpleasant, and perhaps almost impossible, to have prosecuted our journey by night, in these partially unfrequented regions. Through the guidance of this servant, we were conducted by a much nearer road than we had designed to travel; its wretchedness, however, counterbalanced its nearness. We, nevertheless, prosecuted our journey in safety, and reached the house of *Mr. Rae* about nine at night.

This gentleman is an agent of two principal West India merchants in London; from one of whom I had received and brought with me a recommendatory letter. We were received with much attention, and treated with that kindness and hospitality which almost uniformly distinguish the inhabitants of the new world. We were informed by him, that he had about nine hundred negroes under his care; and, that so far as his influence could extend, they should be open to the instruction, and his house to the entertainment, of any Missionary that I should recommend. These negroes had, however, been much exposed to the superstitious instructions of some Romish priests who had gained a footing among them, and had instilled into their uncultivated minds some of those idolatrous rites which are interwoven with the ceremonies of that communion; and to the influence of which, ignorance is always prone.

The day following, after taking leave of *Mr. Rae*, we rode to the town of Guave; in which place, however, we remained but a short time. Here we embarked, and took our leave of the island for the present; fully satisfied with the excursion we had made, and resolved to improve the opening which God had, through his providence, afforded us. And after touching at St. Vincent's, and taking up Mr. Lumb and Mr. Werrill, we arrived at Antigua on the 5th of December.

On the author's fifth tour in America, and third in the West Indies, he made a second excursion from St. Vincent's

to Grenada. This visit was chiefly made on account of Mr. Bishop, one of our late Missionaries, who had resided in Nova Scotia for some considerable time. He came to the West Indies at the particular request of the author, who felt himself solicitous to introduce him, personally, to those friends whom he had found on this island in 1790, and who, from that period to the present, had continued to evince the sincerity of their attachment, by assisting in promoting the infant work of God that was now begun. We accordingly set sail for Grenada on the 7th of January, 1793, and reached the island on the following day.

The kind reception we met with during this visit, as well as that which I had received on a former occasion, could not but give me a peculiar predilection for the island and its inhabitants. We found that Mr. Dent, the pious and worthy rector of St. George, whose name has been already introduced, had retained his former friendship and piety, and had contributed his assistance towards the support of that mission which had been partially established.

During the intermediate year that had elapsed, Mr. Owens, one of our Missionaries, had occasionally visited the island, and experienced that love and hospitality, which the early promises of the inhabitants had given us reason to expect. Preaching had been established in several places, and many had flocked to hear; irregularity had given place to order, but not many had been added to the society. Peace and tranquillity, however, uniformly prevailed; but the reward of our exertions rather lay in prospect than possession.

It would be ungenerous, to pass over in total silence a noble instance of generosity and fortitude that this island presented, during the interim of which we speak. Mr. Owens was highly esteemed by General Matthews, the Governor, whose generosity prompted him to reward both his talents and his zeal. It happened at this time, that the living of *Cariacou*, one of the *Grenadines*, was vacant. This was offered to Mr. Owens, if he would go to England, under his Excellency's recommendation, and be ordained by the Bishop of London. But Mr. Owens, influenced by a sense of duty, with all the fortitude of a man of God, expressing his deep sense of the Governor's generosity, nobly declined the offer, and chose to continue a poor dependant Methodist preacher. The living of Cariacou is worth about four hundred pounds currency *per annum*, a sum which is regularly paid from the treasury of Grenada. To this must

be added the surplice-fees; which perhaps, on an average, will nearly equal the above sum.

The station which Mr. Owens had been called to occupy as a Missionary, had removed him from the island of Grenada, some time prior to our arrival; so that his little flock was left without their accustomed preaching, and their accustomed guide. I had, however, informed Mr. Dent by letter, that another Missionary would soon be sent; and we found on our arrival, that he, and the little society which Mr. Owens had left behind him, had already provided a house for Mr. Bishop, the Missionary whom I accompanied thither.

Mr. Dent entreated me to make his house my home, during my residence in the island. It is one that he has lately erected on the side of a hill, which affords a delightful prospect of the town, harbor, and shipping. While on the island, I preached once in Mr. Dent's church on a Sunday morning, and several times in Mr. Bishop's house, to congregations that had, evidently, been accustomed to hear the word of God. The society, though few in number, not more than thirty, was much alive to God. When I met them, they expressed themselves with much clearness and rationality, when giving an account of what God had done for their souls. Far the greater number enjoyed a strong evidence of their adoption; they knew in whom they had believed, and felt an interest in Jesus Christ.

The inhabitants of this island are a mixture of French and English; and, notwithstanding the intercourse which subsists between them, they retain their respective languages. A Missionary, therefore, who speaks but one, cannot be profitable to all; hence, a careful selection became necessary, that indiscretion in choice might not defeat our primary design. Mr. Bishop, being a native of Jersey, could speak both languages with fluency, and was, therefore, admirably adapted for the mission in Grenada. His zeal was, perhaps, more than equal to his fluency; and an ardent desire for the salvation of others, was the predominant feature of his soul.

Finding that every thing had been happily adjusted in the town of St. George for the accommodation of Mr. Bishop, on the Monday after we landed we proceeded to visit *the Honorable Mr. Smith*, one of the members of the Council, who lives not far from the town of Guave. We were received with much politeness and respect, and found in Mr. Smith a friend to that cause in which we were engaged, and which such kindness tended not a little to pro-

mote. With this hospitable gentleman I spent a day, and felt highly delighted with that sweet retirement which he had selected for his residence. It is somewhat removed from the tumultuous hum of men, and receives a solemnity from the adjacent woods, while it is enlivened with a fine rivulet which meanders through the shade.

Mr. Smith, apprized of our arrival, had prepared for the reception of Mr. Bishop, and had set apart a large outhouse for his use. In this it was mutually agreed that the negroes should assemble, at such times as might be deemed convenient, to hear preaching, and to receive such instructions as the peculiarity of their cases might require. From Mr. Smith's, we proceeded to visit *the Reverend Mr. Carew, Rector of Guave,* and found him not destitute of that courtesy and affability which had marked the Rector of St. George. We were informed by him, that Mr. Bishop should be at all times welcome to his house; and that his negroes, who were about two hundred in number, should be collected to receive instruction, whensoever Mr. Bishop could make it convenient to visit his estate. Thus individuals after individuals concurred with us in our designs, and were rendered instrumental, through the providence of God, of introducing the gospel into the island, in many places where it had never yet been preached, and of causing multitudes to hear the joyful sound, who had hitherto been unacquainted with a Saviour's name.

During my stay at this time upon the island, a little circumstance occurred, which, as it has a claim upon every feeling heart, precludes the necessity of all apology for its insertion. Mr. Dent, who with his amiable lady lives quite a retired life, thought that they wanted in their family another servant girl. He accordingly went one day, agreeably to the custom of the country, to a sale of negroes, who had just been imported for that purpose; and fixing his eye on a little girl about ten years of age, said to her, "Will you "come with me?" The poor child, though ignorant of the language of England, understood that of the countenance and of the heart, though she had never heard of Lavater, and nodded her head in token of assent. Mr. Dent then turned from the child, and entered into a conversation with the proprietor about incidental matters; in consequence of which, for a few minutes, the poor girl was forgotten. He, however, soon recollected himself; and, turning once more towards her, repeated his former question, "*Well, will you come with me?*" The little naked child, who had

watched his movements from the time of his speaking, was now overcome by those emotions which, it is natural to conceive, must agitate the bosom of an infant stranger exposed to sale in a foreign land. Viewing him as her protector, she immediately threw her arms around him, and gave vent to her feelings by a flood of tears. Mr. Dent felt himself much affected by this little incident; he therefore instantly purchased her, and brought her home. She was immediately well clothed and domesticated; and before I left the island could speak several words of English, and had begun to sew.

It must be repeated, to the honor of the inhabitants of Grenada, that they treat their slaves with less severity than those of any other of the islands. They have among them a law, which provides guardians in every parish, who are obliged upon oath to oversee and protect the negroes from injurious treatment. The investiture of these men with such extensive powers, to be exercised in behalf of the unfortunate slave, is a demonstration of that compassion and humanity which prevail. This humane law was enacted about the year 1789; and soon afterward a lady felt its force, for a mode of conduct which proved the necessity of its establishment. She was fined five hundred pounds for cruelty towards her negro. This was certainly a noble act of justice, which did honor to the guardians, the judges, the jury, and the whole island.

After remaining about a week in Grenada, and endeavoring to establish such plans as were most conducive to the general benefit of the mission, I took my leave of this affectionate people, under an uncertainty of ever seeing them again, in time; and sailed in the Dashwood packet for Tortola. The annexed extracts, from the correspondence of the Missionaries, will shew the progress and success of their christian labors.

[*From Mr. Bishop to Dr. Coke. Grenada, June,* 1793.]

"I thank God, I am enabled to tell you, that he has done wonders amongst us lately. Many souls have been set at liberty; and we have now in town, and at the Point, one hundred in society. Our chapel is finished, and will contain near four hundred persons; but at times it is too little. I humbly hope you will not forget us, but will apply to the Conference for a preacher. For if I have no help, we must beseech the Lord to have mercy upon us. I can pene-

trate but a little way into the country, till I have one to take my place in the town and its environs. I hope God will be graciously pleased to stir up the hearts of several of our dear brethren, to come over and help us. There is a great opening in the West Indies for the gospel; and what a pity it is, that we should not embrace the blessed opportunity, and rush through every open door. Do, my dear brethren, when you assemble in Conference, think of us; and dispatch to us a few bold champions, to assist us. Our situation calls loudly for aid; and you know well, that if any help is sent us, it must be from the British Conference. We had, thanks be to the Almighty, a blessed time at our love-feast on Sunday. It is the second we have had since my arrival in this island.

" I was this week with the manager of Mr. Harvey's estate, who behaved very kindly to me; and I promised to visit the estate shortly. Indeed, I could form three circuits in this island, and should have wherewithal to supply the preachers, if we only had them. May the Lord, in tender mercy, continue to give me health in body and mind; for the work is great. Various, and at times many, are the trials of my poor mind; but God is very merciful. Having found help from above, I continue to this day; and I desire to spend and to be spent for the good of precious souls. To remain in the body, is more needful for them; but at times, I would prefer to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, which is far better. My soul pities those around me who are destroying their own souls, while thousands of others are perishing for lack of knowledge. My heart bleeds for them. O, my dear friends, pray for us! And may God deal graciously with us, and send some to call sinners to repentance.

" There are two little islands near us, which I am desired to visit, where there are neither ministers nor preachers; and I hope to go thither, if, when the superintending preacher visits us, he can stay a few weeks in town, and at the Point."

N. B. *The letter from which the foregoing extracts are made, Mr. Bishop did not live to finish; as appears from the following account, addressed to the author, by the Reverend Mr. Dent, and written on the same sheet with Mr. Bishop's letter.*

" *June* 18, 1793.

" Thus far had our departed brother written about the first week in this month. On the 11th he was seized

with a violent fever, and died at the chapel, about two o'clock on the morning of Sunday the 16th. He was buried in the yard on the evening of the same day. His mental faculties were much deranged, from a very early stage; and, though we had the assistance of three of the principal physicians, were never perfectly restored. Yet, though thus afflicted, he bore his sufferings with great patience, and prayed or exhorted, though in broken accents, to the last. I preached in the chapel, after the interment, to a very full congregation, on these words, which he had written on a paper of directions left with me a few weeks ago: *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.*"

[*From Mr. R. Pattison; dated Grenada, August* 26, 1793.]

" I suppose, that, long before this comes to hand, you will have heard of the death of our dear departed friend and brother, Mr. Bishop; who was truly indefatigable in the work, and whose labors were particularly blessed in this island:—but not among the French; for not one of them has received the gospel, or seems in the least inclined to it at present. I was told by a pious woman in society, who can speak French and English, that after they had heard Mr. Bishop preach, and were informed by him of the absolute necessity of forsaking the vices they have been so long accustomed to, and the impossibility of obtaining absolution from any but God; they immediately turned their backs on him, and said, " We like our own religion best." Not one of them attended his preaching after, except at Guave; and the chief reason of their attending him there, I am informed, was, that they had quarrelled with their priest at that part of the island.

" Among the English, I think there is a prospect of a great and glorious work; notwithstanding that Satan has stirred up his emissaries to stop the progress of the gospel among the poor Ethiopians: for, an act, two or three days ago, passed the Assembly, establishing the Romish clergy with the Church of England, in every parish throughout the island; allowing them two hundred pounds per annum; and absolutely prohibiting preachers of any other denomination whatever from exercising the functions of the ministry here; and in case of such ministers preaching in the island, they are to be taken up, and treated as rogues and vagabonds. However, it met with much opposition; and it has not yet passed

the Council, which will sit in three weeks. What may be the issue, God only knows.

" After the death of Mr. Bishop, our dear friend, the Reverend Mr. Dent, wrote to Mr. Baxter for a preacher. Mr. Baxter wrote to Mr. Harper to send one, there being three at St. Kitt's; who, after receiving the letter, asked me, if I was willing to go? I consented; and immediately took my departure from Antigua, and from thence sailed for Grenada. We stopped one day at St. Vincent's, which I spent with Mr. Clarke. He and I visited the prison in which Mr. Lumb had been confined. I likewise was in the chapel; and felt strange emotions, that such a fine house of worship should have been shut up, where the everlasting gospel should be proclaimed. I arrived here on the 2d of August. The dear people shewed every mark of gratitude to God for a preacher. The Reverend Mr. Dent received me with all possible kindness, and cheerfully delivered up the care of the society into my hands; which he had kept together since Mr. Bishop's death, with the assistance of Mr. Hallett, who cast in his lot amongst us under Mr. Bishop's ministry.

" Mr. Dent is heartily engaged in the work. His labors have been made a blessing to many. Our congregations much increase; and the chapel is crowded, in general, an hour before preaching-time. The people hear with great attention, and seem as if they would be doers of the word. I have joined six since my arrival. Mr. Bishop preached once a fortnight at Guave, and at the barracks of the black corps, a little beyond the town. The latter place I have attended twice, and intend to preach there once every week. I hope to form a society in Guave, as soon as I can make it a part of my circuit. I am informed that Mr. Carew will give us his church to preach in. There is a little island about four hours sail from this, called the Isle of Ronde, which is the property of Mr. M'Dowall, now in England, who, I am told, is desirous to have his negroes instructed. Most of them are natives of Antigua, and, I hear, were in society there. I only wait for the manager's coming over here, as there is no conveyance but in his own vessel. Mr. Owens, when in Grenada, spent two days with them very agreeably. The poor negroes would hardly let him leave them.

" I heard this day of the death of Mr. Graham in Barbadoes.—I earnestly hope that the deaths of the preachers in the West Indies will not discourage our brethren from

coming out; for I am sure the islands, at this time, cry to those on your side the Atlantic, *Come over, and help us!* Respecting myself, I bless God, I never enjoyed better health in England, than I continue to do in the West Indies: And I likewise bless God, I never found my heart more engaged in the work, than since I have been in Grenada. I know, *for me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.* I plainly see the preciousness of souls, and the uncertainty of our abode on earth. I wish to be a good steward of the grace of God, and to do what my hand findeth to do, with all my might. May a pure intention to please God be the spring of all my actions!"

[*From Mr. Hallett; dated Grenada, May* 19, 1794.]

"I have received a letter this day from Mr. Dobson, of Barbadoes, acquainting me with the melancholy news of the death of Mr. Pearce, who, agreeably to your desire, left Barbadoes, and arrived here on the 11th of February. After making some necessary arrangements in the society, such as appointing class-leaders, &c. he left us on the 8th of April to go for Mrs. Pearce, and then to return. But God, who is infinite in wisdom, has taken him to glory. His death, I believe, will be a great loss to the connexion; but with respect to himself, I am persuaded the change is glorious. He, more than once, after his arrival, declared to me, that he wished, and it was his prayer to God, that he might live no longer than he could travel and be useful to his fellow-creatures. Little did I suspect he was so shortly to be withdrawn. But, glory be to God, whatever he does, is well done; and I am persuaded it is our duty to bear, and suffer, and endure unto the end.

"With respect to the society here, I have endeavored to keep them together;—to hold the different meetings as usual;—to read a sermon on preaching nights;—and to speak to the people on the mornings following;—which before Mr. P. left us, he allowed me to do. I cannot be certain as to the number in society; as time will not allow me to go to the different leaders, to see their papers; though, I think, when I say ninety, I do not exceed the number. In a former letter, I took notice of one hundred, or more, in connexion; but all the black troops being called away, the number is diminished, as many of those soldiers were in our society."

[*From the Reverend Mr. Dent, dated St. George's, Grenada, May* 19, 1794.]

" I am happy to inform you, that the attempt on our glebes, &c. and, in short, on the whole of our establishment, in order to favor the Romish priests, has failed. The bill is dead; and Mr. Dundas, in consequence of a letter from me to the Bishop of ——, has put the whole into a fair and honorable way. So far we bless and praise God for all his mercies.

" But, my dear Sir, we are again called to submission: Again have I to say, " O Lord, thy will be done." Brother Pearce is called to his everlasting rest! He arrived here on the 11th of February; was very acceptable to us, and to the people in general; and having regulated the society, and left it under my care, (assisted by that valuable young man, Mr. Hallett, who is likely to be a very able preacher,) he sailed on the 8th of April for Barbadoes, in order to bring down Mrs. Pearce. He died at sea on the 1st of May; and, as far as we can learn, in great peace, and in full assurance of faith. He had good health whilst here, and never looked better since I knew him."

[*From the Rev. Mr. Dent; dated Duke Street, Portland Chapel, Nov.* 21, 1795. *London.*

" I received a letter yesterday from our truly useful friend, Mr. Hallett, my parish-clerk and schoolmaster in Grenada. The following extract will give you satisfaction:

" Is Dr. Coke in England? If so, give my kind love " to him, and tell him that the society still keep together, " and that the Lord is with us. We set apart yesterday " (October 1st) for fasting and humbling ourselves before " God. In the morning, I endeavored to shew the neces- " sity and uses of fasting; and, I trust, many were blessed " in using the means. Sunday next, if the Lord permit, " we are to have a love-feast.—There are a few here who " love God; with such I wish to live and die. The Lord " make me faithful to the end."

" Both Mr. Hallett and his brother have been on severe military duty; the latter, in fight with the enemy; as has Mr. Clearkly. We have lost none of our friends since the Insurrection, either by battle or sickness."

[*From Mr. Hallett; dated Grenada, Jan.* 22, 1796.]

"As I conceive it will give you pleasure to have a line or two from this, at present, distracted isle, I gladly embrace the opportunity which now offers. I should have written some time ago, but that I was led to believe you were not in England. This objection is done away by a kind letter which I have received from my dear friend, the Rev. Mr. Dent, now in England. I trust you have seen him ere this, and that you have been made acquainted with the religious state of this community, down to the period of his embarkation; since which time, it has pleased the good Lord, in his kind providence, to spare me to labor here, and I hope not in vain. I believe the cause has not suffered. There are now seventy-seven in society; and, I trust, they are gaining spiritual strength every day. We are much revived by a visit from brother Owens, from St. Vincent's, who is on his way to St. Kitt's. He very kindly delivered to us two instructive sermons, which, I hope, will never be forgotten by us.

"It is now three months since I have been under the necessity of lending our chapel as a barrack for one of the black corps, raised here; to whom I preach twice a week; though I do not perceive a readiness in them to hear. I have also liberty to preach to another corps; but seldom can get more than twenty, frequently a lesser number, to hear.

"I hope shortly to have the chapel returned to us. With respect to our political state, we have been greatly distressed. ——I entreat your prayers, that, if it be the will of the Lord, the dreadful scourge may be removed from us; but, above all, that God may be glorified, and sinners saved."

[*From the Rev. Mr. Dent, dated February* 2, 1796.]

"I was last night favored with another letter from Mr. Hallett, dated Dec. 12, 1795; in which he says—

"I think it proper to inform you of our prospects here. "Know then, my dear Sir, that in consequence of the re- "treat from Guave, Colonel Webster's corps of negroes, con- "sisting of about seventy, has been stationed at the chapel. "I soon considered it my duty to endeavor to do some good "among them; I therefore spoke to the Colonel and Major "Hay; and they immediately acceded to my wish of trying "to spread the gospel among them. I have for some weeks

" been preaching to them on Sundays and Tuesdays. At " first they laughed, and seemed to think lightly of it. But " I now perceive, they are becoming more serious; and I " humbly hope, that, as the glory of God and the salvation " of souls are my aim, the Lord will bless my weak at- " tempts.

" In addition to this increase of duty (viz. military duty, " and the duties of clerk and school-master), I applied to " Colonel Gahagan, for leave to exhort his company of " blacks. The Colonel apprehended that they were all of " the Romish persuasion: but consented, if there were any " of them of the English church, that I should make a " trial; which I have done, and continue to preach to them " twice a week. I confess I am warm in my expectations, " yet hope I shall not be disappointed. War is an enemy " to religion. It creates, what is, perhaps, thought a ne- " cessary fierceness, and seems to increase men's natural " antipathy to things serious. Yet I shall not think my " labor lost, if I can only introduce morality among them. " Besides, I think this point will be gained;—as it is not " likely that these corps will be discharged, in case of " peace—when the Lord shall grant us that blessing, here " will always be a field for Methodist preachers.

" I observe among them all, the custom of crossing " themselves; but this, when they really receive the gospel, " will disappear. I think my plan should be simply to " preach the gospel, and not perplex them with the differ- " ence of churches, &c. Love in the heart, will produce " loving actions, and unity among all who possess it. I " think also of applying for permission to preach to Major " Ker's black corps."

" I cannot help mentioning a singular instance of the goodness of Divine Providence to our poor little flock in society at Grenada. They have all been eminently loyal from the commencement of our troubles, and exemplary in their whole conduct; and though the men have been as much exposed as any other soldiers, and have undergone as much fatigue, yet I know not of one that has been killed or wounded, or that has died of disease, either of the men or women. We are assured, that when the righteous are removed by death, *they are taken away from the evil to come.* But to be spared, when inhabitants are so much wanted, is a very great mercy and kindness to the living."

[*From the same; dated July* 25, 1796.]

" I have been reflecting upon what you remarked, of the little good which Mr. Bishop had done among the French negroes; and wish to repeat what I observed, that he had not time to visit any of the plantations, and only preached a few times in town to some French people, almost all of whom turned against us; and none of them were so much affected, as to be awakened.

" His discouragements, with respect to the French negroes, arose from the influence and interference of the French priests; but as they have been in rebellion, and are not likely to be re-established, nor are any more likely to be permitted to come in their room, I apprehend that a door is now opened. I am, therefore, more anxious than ever to have the gospel preached to the French negroes in that language which they in general prefer, and which most prevails, and will prevail, among them. If it should please the Lord to raise up French preachers (such as the young man you mentioned), whose political principles could be depended on, both by the French inhabitants who may remain at Grenada, and by ourselves, I am firmly persuaded, that they would be most kindly received by the white French, and might be eminently useful.

" I mentioned Mr. Pattison's having visited the little island of Cariacou, and Isle Ronde. They are both under the Grenada government, and with two or three other small islands form one parish, which has become vacant for nearly two years. One of these islands is owned and inhabited by French mulattoes, viz. Petit Martinique. Several others of the Grenadines are under the St. Vincent's government, viz. the *Union*, *Mostique*, and *Carouan*. In all the last-mentioned, the negroes speak English; and as they are a plain simple people, being separated from the rest of the world, they are well worth visiting; and, if their owners, or overseers, were converted, might form little societies of eminent christians. Mr. Clarke, from St. Vincent's, visited some of them in 1789: I was at Mostique in August that year, and was much pleased.

[*From Mr. Hallett; dated Grenada, May* 23, 1797.]

" I have been blessed with a safe return to Grenada, and with the enjoyment of good health. I found my colleague well, and rejoice that his labors have not been in vain. He

has joined several to the society; and we have now in connexion one hundred and fifteen members, of whom only three are whites."

[*From the same; dated November* 9, 1804.]

"I have been wading through deep waters ever since I left England, but hitherto the Lord hath helped me. I informed you in a former letter of the death of an only and beloved brother. In this I have to acquaint you with the death of my truly valuable friend, the Reverend Mr. Dent; with whom, after my return to this island, I spent many profitable hours. His death was rather sudden; for it was not till within the last five hours of his life, that any apprehension was entertained of his approaching dissolution; during which period it was impossible to converse with him, on account of his affecting situation; his disorder (the gout) being fixed in his stomach. But he is now with that Saviour, whose cause he loved, and labored to promote. I miss him very much, on account of the loss of his company and conversation, which loss is not likely to be made up to me in any other person. I sorrow indeed, "but not as one "without hope."

"These circumstances, added to much indisposition of body, and sore temptation, make my way rough and thorny; but, blessed be the Lord, I have not lost my zeal for his cause, nor ceased from my endeavors to be useful. I have been under the necessity of repairing the chapel, at the expense of two hundred pounds currency. The repairs were absolutely necessary; as it would otherwise have been impossible, humanly speaking, for the chapel to have stood the very heavy weather we have had this year.

"I now administer the Lord's supper monthly; and we have some precious seasons of refreshing grace. Indeed, all the means we use are blessed to us; and I think there is a deepening of the work of grace in the hearts of the people. We have prayer-meetings in various parts of the town almost every evening. They begin to be well attended; and we are earnestly praying and looking for a general revival. I have some blessed opportunities in preaching, and am convinced that the people feel the power of the word. My own soul is greatly blessed, and I am longing to see the prosperity of Zion. May the Lord lengthen out your days, and make you more abundantly useful."

We cannot but be impressed, from a perusal of the above

letter, with the uncertainty of human life. Mr. Dent, who but a few years before had recorded the death of Mr. Bishop upon the same letter which he had begun, but which he did not live to finish, was now called from his pious labors to join the church triumphant above, leaving the memorial of his departure to be recorded by Mr. Hallett.

The most important business of life is, to prepare for death. The intelligence of the death of the pious ministers of God conveys an awful lesson to survivors; and at once informs them how to live and how to die. In many cases, they are taken away from the evil to come; but, in certain cases, they are removed as a punishment upon those, to whom God has stretched forth his hands, while they have disregarded his threatenings and his invitations. But in every case it shall be well with the righteous; they shall be preserved in life, and shall be secure in death, and be blessed through eternity. What rank soever the servants of God may hold in his church, he has pronounced those blessed, who die in the Lord; but in a particular manner he has assured us, that they who turn many to righteousness, shall shine like the stars in the firmament, for ever and ever.

The island of Grenada is not without evidence that the word of God has not been preached in vain. Many living witnesses can set to their seal, that God is true; and many more have departed this life, with a full conviction of enjoying felicity in another. As in the sight of God the death of all his saints is precious, those who love the cause of their Heavenly Master will find pleasure in perusing the following letter:

[*From Mr. Hallett; dated February* 13, 1805.]

" The happy death of a saint is as great a proof of the efficacy of divine grace, as the conversion of a sinner; and is, no doubt, equally a cause of joy to the angels of God. To christian spectators and survivors, it affords matter of the greatest encouragement and consolation. Such was the death of *Dutchess Simmons,* a free colored woman, a native of the island of Barbadoes. She had lived without hope, and without God, for the long period of seventy-three years; and being a wealthy person, and having it in her power to enjoy the world without restraint, she had pursued its pleasures, followed its customs, and been influenced by its maxims.

" About the year 1790, Mr. Samuel Painter, a free colored man, of Antigua, and a member of the Methodist

Society, came to reside in Grenada, and to labor as a mechanic. This good man, full of zeal for God, under the patronage of our worthy friend, the Reverend Mr. Dent, who had the year before been inducted into this living, held meetings for prayer and exhortation. Our deceased sister attended these meetings, at which she received her first religious impressions, and was deeply awakened. She was afterwards fully converted to God in the year 1793, under the ministry of that truly evangelical young man, our late dear brother, Bishop. And she has often blessed God for sending him and Mr. Painter to this island; and will, no doubt, find it a cause of thanksgiving for ever.

" Her conversion was evidenced immediately, in a most striking manner. Though she had attained such an advanced age, yet in her dress and appearance she had been wont to discover all the gaiety of youth. But she now laid aside all the gold and silver with which she had been accustomed to adorn herself, and assumed the appearance of christian plainness.—A change this, which, considering her great love of dress, was an evident proof of the power of divine grace.

" She had, some years before her conversion, formed a connexion with a gentleman of this island: a practice very common with the gentlemen and colored females in the West Indies, and which is one of the greatest hindrances to the progress of the gospel in these parts. But this evil was also put away, and the connexion immediately dissolved. On the sabbath-day, which is the principal market-day in these islands, she had been in the habit of trafficking all her life. This custom is also another grand obstacle to the spread of the gospel. Our late friend, Mr. Dent, informed me after my arrival, that he had endeavored to get the Sunday market abolished; but without success. But this holy day Mrs. Simmons now devoted to the service of God. Her love to the people of God was another strong evidence that she had passed from death unto life; her house, her heart, were always open to them. I may add, that as a class-leader, in which office she acted many years, she was very useful.

" On the night of January 3, 1805, after she had met her class, she was taken sick. I was out of town at that time, and did not see her until the 5th; when she appeared to be very ill, but perfectly recollected. I spoke to her about the state of her mind; and she replied with the greatest confidence, that she was fully saved from the fear of death. I asked if I should pray with her? she answered, " Yes;" and

aid, " But do not pray that I may live: pray for accept-
ance."

" The day following, being the sabbath, when the sacra-
nent of the Lord's supper was administered at our chapel,
he sent for me, and desired to communicate; expressing her
persuasion that it would be the last time. This day she gave
directions concerning her funeral, which she desired might
be conducted in the plainest manner. To those who know
he extravagance manifested in funerals in the West Indies,
ier desire will not appear to have been unnecessary; par-
icularly as she was an old, respectable, and wealthy inha-
bitant.

" Her friends could not prevail upon her, at first, to call
n a physician; as she signified that it would be useless, and
begged that they would let her die in peace. They, however,
afterwards overruled her in this point; and two of the most
eminent physicians attended her. I visited her every day, and
found her confidence unshaken. Whenever I asked her how
she was, she replied, " I am looking to my Master." When
I exhorted her to rely on Jesus, she observed, " He is my
' all in all; there is no other." The violence of the fever
occasioned a temporary derangement of her intellects; but
even then, when I spoke to her of the excellencies of
Christ, she regained her recollection. She was in a state of
nsensibility from four o'clock in the afternoon till seven in
he evening of the 10th of January; when she fell asleep in
Jesus, in the eighty-eighth year of her age."

The Missionary work in this island has continued nearly
n the same state ever since the above letters were written
by Mr. Hallett. We are, however, in hopes, that we
shall soon find out one or two French Missionaries in the
Norman Isles, who will consent to visit this place on the
sacrifice of their faith, and prove through the grace of God
an unspeakable blessing to the numerous French negroes in
Grenada.

CHAP. XVIII.

HISTORY OF BARBADOES.

Barbadoes.—Discovery.—Name and first settlement.—Origin.—Mutations.—Establishment and termination of the proprietary government.—Governors.—Vicissitudes and calamities of the island.—Civil constitution.—Governor, Council, and Assembly, their respective rights.—Courts of Justice.—Laws.—Fortifications.—Military establishments, and Population.—Situation and extent of the island.—Fertility, and nature of the soil.—Articles of exportation.—Ginger plant described.—Towns, rivers, and articles imported.—Beautiful appearance of the island.—Internal resources.—Variety of productions. Salubrity of the climate.—Reflections, &c.

IT has so happened in the progress of our inquiries, that almost every island which we have been called to survey, has led us to contemplate the important discoveries which were made by the daring genius of Columbus; but Barbadoes must be admitted as an exception to the general rule. The honor of its first discovery has uniformly been attributed to the Portuguese, who viewed it in much the same light as the Spaniards surveyed the Bermudas;—as an insignificant trifle, too contemptible to seduce them from their path to gold.

In what year this island was discovered, we are not precisely informed; but it is highly probable, from a train of circumstances, that it had remained for many ages unknown to Europe, till about the year 1600; upwards of one hundred years after the new world was tormented by the old. In the sea charts of these regions, Barbadoes, it is confidently asserted, claimed no place prior to 1600; it therefore could not have been discovered by the Portuguese long before. Within a few years from the above period, it became known to the English; but prior to this time the Portuguese had evidently visited its shores.

The origin of its name is as destitute of certainty, as the period of its primary discovery is unknown in point of time.

By the Portuguese it was found without cultivation or inhabitant, and without any visible vestiges whatever, that before that time it had been visited by any human being.* And from this circumstance it has been presumed, that its rude condition suggested its present appellation; and, that it was called by these adventurers, *Los Barbadosa*, by way of indignity and contempt.

But, though these Portuguese neither took any formal possession of it, nor once attempted any settlement, they were so far provident, that they furnished it with a breed of hogs, which they turned into the woods to multiply, and to provide for their own sustenance by such fruits as the forests might afford. Their motive for acting thus, was, undoubtedly, to establish a source of provisions, either for themselves, or for their countrymen, who might in future navigate the same tract, and stand in need of such refreshments as the island, at this period, could not afford. Thus they found, and thus they abandoned Barbadoes, to such future adventurers as choice or misfortune might cast upon its shores.

Long before this period, both the West India Islands and

* Raynal has asserted, vol. v. p. 14. that "the island of Barbadoes, "which is situated to the windward of all the others, appeared never to "have been inhabited, not even by savages." In this assertion he has, however, been evidently mistaken. On its first discovery, indeed, every appearance which it exhibited, seemed to confirm the truth of the observation which he has made; and the early settlers were induced for a considerable time to believe, that, prior to the arrival of the Europeans, it had never been trodden by the foot of man. But a more intimate acquaintance with Barbadoes, has long since corrected the error. No doubt at present remains, that it had in former periods been inhabited by the Charaibees, though it had evidently been abandoned by them through some causes which we are unable to comprehend, perhaps some ages before either the English or Portuguese visited its solitary shores.

Ligon, who took a survey of this island so early as 1647, an account of which he published soon afterward, observes, that he examined many domestic utensils which the natives had originally manufactured in their potteries, and burned in their kilns; and that the workmanship was not inferior to that of the common earthenware in England, either in strength or elegance. Mr. Hughes, in his Natural History of Barbadoes, confirms the above account given by Ligon.

These testimonies in favor of its having been inhabited at an early period, continue to be corroborated by visible memorials even in the present day. Detached pieces of broken earthenware continue to be digged up even by the planters, who now occupy particular spots which these ancient residents more frequently visited; much in the same manner as the remains of the Druids are to be occasionally found in various parts of England. The kilns in which their manufactures of clay were burned, are at present rarely to be discovered; though many years have not elapsed, since they were well known as matters of curiosity, and, probably, are still well remembered by several of the old inhabitants.

the contiguous Continent were well known to the maritime nations of Europe, and ships from each had frequently traversed these seas. It was in the year 1605, that an English ship called the *Olive*, or *Olive Blossom* (probably from *Sir Olive Leigh*, the proprietor), in prosecuting a voyage from London to Surinam, fell in with this island, and landed some men on it, as the Portuguese had done before. These Englishmen, however, finding it uninhabited, immediately took that possession of it, which the Portuguese, dazzled with their more splendid possessions on the continent, had entirely omitted. On their landing they erected a cross on, or near, the spot on which James-town was afterwards built, carving at the same time on an adjacent tree, the following inscription: "*James, King of England, and of this island.*"

By this time the hogs which the Portuguese had turned ashore on the island, had so far multiplied, that the woods were furnished with a breed that was entirely wild; and from this source the new inhabitants obtained an ample supply of fresh provisions. Parrots and pigeons, together with other birds, were also plentiful in the island; and the adjacent coasts were found to abound with fish. On this solitary spot, however, they made no long stay; their only object was to supply their temporary wants; and, when this was accomplished, they took their leave, and prosecuted their intended voyage. These were the first Englishmen that were ever known to visit these desolate shores.

How far the reports, which the seamen of the *Olive Blossom* circulated on their return to England, might be considered favorable, we can only gather from this circumstance, that but little notice was taken of their discovery. No person, it seems, entertained any thoughts of establishing a colony on the island; and it was accident, or rather a providential circumstance, which afterwards called Barbadoes into further notice.

Some years had elapsed from this period, when, in the course of a trading voyage, a ship which had been fitted out by *Sir William Courteen*, a merchant of considerable respectability in London, returning from the Brazils, was driven towards it by the violence of a tempest with which she was overtaken. Necessity rather than choice compelled the seamen to enter a harbor that offered them protection. These, during their stay, had an opportunity of noticing that exuberant fertility which every where abounded. And finding themselves refreshed with the provisions that the

hogs and birds afforded, and guarded with that protection with which the harbor had shielded them from the boisterous elements, the whole of which was heightened by those calamities to which they had lately been exposed, they departed highly prepossessed in favor of the asylum that this island had yielded. Both the master and seamen, on their return to England, circulated such favorable reports of the beauty, the fertility, and the advantages of it, that it ceased in an instant to be an object of contempt.

The report soon reached *Lord Ley*, afterward Earl of Marlborough and Lord High Treasurer. This nobleman, to secure for himself a possession which promised much future wealth, made an immediate application to King James, and obtained from him a grant of the island, and had it confirmed not only to himself but also to his heirs for ever. In the mean while, *Courteen*, a man whose enterprizing spirit was almost invincible, concerted his measures for the establishment of a settlement upon this new possession, which the captain of his own vessel had called into public notice, and in part discovered.

How far Courteen acted under the auspices of *Lord Ley*, or what private connexion subsisted between them, cannot with precision be ascertained. But be this as it may, Courteen found means to collect together, and engage in the enterprize, about thirty persons, who were furnished with such seeds and implements as were deemed necessary for the undertaking. In addition to this, they were amply supplied with provisions, and with the means of fortifying the most vulnerable parts of the island; so that while they were stimulated to industry, they were furnished with the means of protection against the invasions of a foreign enemy, and the private depredations of those pirates who occasionally ravaged these seas.

That *Lord Ley* was privy to this expedition, it is natural to infer from his silence on the occasion. He could not but have known the designs of *Courteen;* and it is highly improbable that he would have suffered the island, of which he held the patent, to be planted by another with whom he had no kind of connexion.

Of this infant colony one *William Deane* was appointed Governor; and he and his subjects, properly equipped, embarked, in 1624, on board a ship called the *William and John*, commanded by one *John Powel*, and reached Barbadoes in safety, at the close of the same year. On their arrival, they proceeded to lay the foundation of a town, near

that spot on which an inscription had been previously carved on a tree, as already related. This town, in honor of their Sovereign, they denominated *James-town*. From hence, they began to clear some land for cultivation,* and thus to lay the foundation of a settlement, which reached its zenith of prosperity with a degree of rapidity, unexampled, perhaps, in the annals both of the old and the new world.

It so happens in the deranged condition of the world, that the prosperity of another awakens envy in the sordid mind; and avarice and ambition conspire together, to snatch from the hand of enterprizing industry, that wealth which injustice never yet deserved. In such views, power usurps the place of right; dislodges it by violence; and establishes its pretensions by sophistry and the sword.

While Barbadoes was thus for the first time peopled with Europeans, and while it promised an ample reward to the industrious hand that first broke the glebe, the Earl of Carlisle, who had engaged with vigor in the establishment of foreign colonies, was busily employed in planting a colony on the island of Saint Christopher's. But this nobleman wanted Barbadoes also. How far he had been made acquainted with the patent which *Lord Ley* had obtained, does not exactly appear; but conceiving that it interfered with that *indefinite* grant, which he had previously obtained, of all the Charaibee Islands, a misunderstanding immediately arose between these two noblemen.

The Earl of Carlisle, to insure his indefinite claims, in the first year of the reign of Charles I. obtained a grant by letters patent under the great seal of England, which secured to himself *Barbadoes*, the object of contention, as well as the other Charaibean Islands. This grant, however, when it came to be passed, was strenuously opposed by *Lord Ley*,

* Barbadoes at this time was completely covered with forests, which, in many places, were absolutely impenetrable. The trees, in general, were enormously large, and exceedingly high; and so entangled with one another, as to be nearly impervious to the solar light and the refreshing air. To cut them down was soon found to be a work of more difficulty than the early settlers at first imagined; for the timber was so excessively hard as to resist the stroke of the axe, when only applied with ordinary force. An uncommon degree of resolution in the colonists, was therefore necessary, to induce them to persevere in clearing the ground of these incumbrances, under such disadvantageous circumstances. This, however, was soon effected when their numbers began to multiply; and the exalted pitch of cultivation to which the whole island was raised within a few years, stands as a lasting monument of what laborious patience is capable of accomplishing.

on the ground of a previous patent, and, consequently, priority of right. The contention between them was long and severe; neither would relinquish what neither could peaceably secure and enjoy. Their differences were, however, finally adjusted by compromise. Carlisle succeeded in securing the patent which he had been so solicitous to obtain, by paying to *Lord Ley*, and his heirs for ever, the annual sum of three hundred pounds. In consequence of this compromise, all opposition was withdrawn, and the Earl of Carlisle's patent received the great seal, on the 2d of June 1627; so that he now became sole proprietor of the island.

In the mean while, *Courteen*, through whose enterprizing spirit Barbadoes was rescued from forgetfulness and waste, was passed over with as much neglect as if no such man had ever existed. *Lord Ley*, under whose auspices he had acted, having secured to himself and his posterity the gratuity we have already specified, consigned him over to the power of Carlisle, without protection and without a legal right. But in what light soever we view these transactions, it is evident that Courteen had been considerably injured. He had claims that were clearly founded upon justice, though they might be excluded from the patent and the cognizance of law.

Scarcely had *Lord Ley* deserted him, before he found an active friend in *William Earl of Pembroke*. This nobleman, viewing Courteen in the light of an injured character, espoused his cause, and undertook to represent his situation to the throne. The King, listening to the representations of Pembroke, viewed the claims of Courteen in a favorable light; and, in order to repair the injuries that he had sustained, actually revoked that patent which he had previously given to Carlisle. At the same time, he granted another to Pembroke; by means of which he contrived so to transfer the right, that it might be held in trust for Courteen, who was at this time cultivating the island.

While these changes were transacting, Lord Carlisle was absent from the kingdom on an embassy, and knew nothing of the transfer which had taken place. On his return to England, he, however, soon obtained the information, and loudly complained of the injustice he had sustained. He pleaded, that he had been condemned without committing an act of injustice, and without being present to refute the allegations which were made; or without being permitted to point out the fallacious grounds on which the pretensions of Pembroke and Courteen had been set up.—That in

addition to this privation of property, which lay in the island, as he had engaged to pay to *Lord Ley* an annual sum for the withdrawing of his prior patent, the injustice he thought was too manifest to require any further comment.

King Charles, who appears from these transactions to have been always captivated by the last tale, listened with much attention to the importunities of Carlisle; and, proselyted once more to an opinion which he had previously abandoned, Pembroke and Courteen were again forsaken, and Carlisle obtained, once more, a renewal of his grant. This event, memorable from the peculiarity of its concomitant circumstances, took place in April 1629; from which period the Earl of Carlisle became the sole proprietor of the island.

Secured now, in some measure, in his contested possession, and fearful, from what he had seen, of a second relapse, Lord Carlisle proceeded, immediately, to avail himself by inheritance of what was guaranteed by patent; and in consequence of this resolution distributed the lands of Barbadoes into such parcels as were deemed most convenient, and granted them to such persons as thought proper to accede to the terms proposed. About eight or nine respectable merchants in London, forming themselves into a company for this purpose, obtained a grant of ten thousand acres, much in the nature of a lease. These lands were to be settled according to their own directions, under the management of a person of their own nomination, who was to preside over their affairs. The person thus selected, whose name was Charles Woolferstone, took under his direction sixty-four adventurers, each of whom was authorized to appropriate to himself one hundred acres of land. They sailed from England with the necessary equipments, as those of Courteen had done before, and landed at Barbadoes on the 5th of July 1629, at which time they found the settlement of Courteen in a very flourishing and promising condition.

Woolferstone, acting agreeably to his instructions, soon after his arrival, set his face against the Courteen settlement. He accordingly issued a proclamation, in which he declared himself hostile to their proceedings, and treated them as usurpers of the Carlisle right. These early settlers, habituated to industry, were quite unprepared for such a mode of treatment; and, indeed, being inferior in number, they were unable to make resistance, had they been so disposed. While these affairs were in agitation between *Woolferstone*

and *Deane*, the arrival of Sir William Tufton, whom the Earl of Carlisle had sent out the same year with forces sufficient to ensure his pretensions and his rights, in an instant decided the dispute. Avowing himself the supporter of *Woolferstone*, *Deane* and his followers had no time for deliberation. They found themselves abandoned by that patronage which had hitherto supported them. They were overawed by compulsory measures in a foreign land, from which it was useless, even in England, to appeal, if an occasion could have been found; and, therefore, they had no alternative left, but to yield an unconditional surrender, and submit quietly to irresistible necessity. From this period, the interests of Courteen were lost in the island; all other pretensions were abandoned; and the rights of Lord Carlisle thenceforward admitted of no dispute.

But, though Sir William Tufton had been deputed by the Earl of Carlisle to act as Chief Governor, and to enforce his claims, his continuance in office was but of short duration. His chief act was that of assisting Woolferstone in annihilating the pretensions of Courteen. But, disobeying the Earl, he was deposed soon afterwards from his office, and was succeeded by Captain Henry Hawley, in 1631, who was sent over on purpose to supersede him. Hawley, on his inauguration, acted with all the insolence of power, and capricious vengeance of a despot, whose actions had made him an object of detestation.

Tufton, probably feeling himself hurt at being superseded by a man so unprincipled as Hawley, joined his signature to those of others in a petition to the Earl, in which they complained of the tyranny of Hawley's conduct. Men, whose actions will not bear a rigorous investigation, are justly suspicious, and ever forward to employ spies to watch the movements of those from whom they dread a retaliation of the wrongs they themselves have administered. This was particularly the case with Hawley. He soon obtained notice of the petition which had been framed, and finding to it the signature of Tufton, marked him as an object of his vengeance. The petition was instantly construed into an act of mutiny on the part of Tufton; and, being tried and found guilty by a court martial, he was sentenced to be shot; which sentence was almost instantly executed upon him, with as little ceremony as there was justice in the proceedings.

An action so atrocious, which violated even the common rights of humanity, awakened the indignation of all the settlers;

and Hawley was viewed in the light of a detestable murderer, and looked upon by all with a mixture of terror, detestation, and contempt. The perpetration of a murder so flagrant, produced a ferment in the colony, and even endangered its existence. The Earl, in consequence of reiterated clamors, found it necessary to recal him from the island; but, though he returned to England, loaded with execrations, his noble patron not only shielded him from justice, but invested him with renewed powers. He was, accordingly, once more sent out to Barbadoes in his former capacity, in which office he continued till the year 1638.

The same sanguinary disposition which had marked his conduct prior to his removal, accompanied him in his reinstatement, though it stood detached from his former overt acts. His oppressions were, however, too daring to be borne with patience. The inhabitants with one voice declared against him; and in 1638, he was obliged to quit an island, in which he had rendered himself odious to the inhabitants, who would no longer submit to his imperious mandates, nor act under his authority.

The Earl of Carlisle, satisfied with the accusations that were lodged against him, of cruelty and mal-administration, confirmed Henry Hunkes in the possession of the government, which he had assumed till another should be appointed to succeed Hawley. His residence, however, was but of short duration. At the end of three years he retired from the island, appointing Philip Bell, Esq. his deputy; in which capacity, Bell acted from 1641 to 1645; when he became vested with full authority, and supported his character of Chief Governor, with honor to himself, and with much advantage to the infant colony. It was during his administration, that the settlement and government began to acquire a degree of permanency, to which the island had been so long a stranger. A constitutional system was established, and laws were enacted, which gave security to property, by defining the rights of the inhabitants; which discountenanced vice, and promoted the cause of virtue; and which prepared Barbadoes as an asylum for those fugitives who fled from the calamities which began, at this time, to afflict the mother-country.

"Then it was," says an account of this island, published by Dodsley in 1768, "that the calamities of England "served to people Barbadoes. Then it was that this infant "colony afforded a safe retreat to the inhabitants of her "mother-country; where many families, ancient and opu-

" lent, having expended their property in support of " monarchy, or having been plundered of their wealth by " usurpers, sought in this distant island, the re-establishment " of that fortune of which they had been robbed, and the " enjoyment of that peace they had been denied in their " native land."

" These new adventurers, many of whom were of respect- " able families, and possessed of no inconsiderable fortunes, " planted," says Lord Clarendon, " without any body's " leave, and without being opposed or contradicted by any " body." Indeed, the commotions which prevailed at home so far engrossed the attention of the proprietors, as to afford them no time, either to assert their claims, or enforce their rights to foreign possessions. The Governor availed himself of the negligence which resulted from this confusion, and embraced it as a favorable moment to push his own private fortune. Those lands, of which he had been made the sole guardian by the Carlisle family, he granted proportionably to every applicant, on receiving for himself a handsome consideration, without once regarding the interest of those who had invested him with power. The sums which were paid, were rather viewed in the light of tributes of acknowledgment, than as valuable considerations to the proprietor; and their claims degenerated from bad to worse, till sophistry contrived to render their justice problematical. These measures were, at length, tried at the bar of interest, and pronounced to be a species of privileged usurpation. The support, indeed, which Hawley had previously received from the Earl of Carlisle, had tended to alienate the affections of the people from him; while the convulsions which agitated the kingdom, furnished them with a favorable pretext for questioning his authority, and throwing off the yoke. During these commotions,—these extraordinary emigrations,—and this increase of capital in the island, it flourished beyond all example, and soon reached a zenith of prosperity, at which even the inhabitants themselves were astonished. The original stipulation, by which the Earl of Carlisle was to receive an annual stipend of forty pounds of cotton wool, from every person holding lands under his grant, had been neglected, and apparently forgotten.—The freedom of trade was unembarrassed by any restrictions; and, being left to its own efforts without any control, the island enjoyed for a short season all the advantages of independence, without experiencing any of its inconveniences.

But the prosperity of this flourishing colony could not

be long concealed. The reports of its wealth soon reached the ears of the Earl of Carlisle, the heir of the original patentee, and induced him to attempt a revival of those rights which he had derived from his father by legal and natural inheritance. But the accomplishment of this point was attended with considerable difficulty. This obliged him to have recourse to artifice and intrigue. He entered into a private negociation with Lord Willoughby, surrendering to that nobleman all his rights for twenty-one years, on condition of receiving, during the whole period, one-half of the profits which might arise from the island. At the same time, while this transaction remained a profound secret, it was privately concerted between them, that an application should be made to the throne, to obtain from thence a commission for his Lordship to be sent out as Chief Governor of the colony.

But here a new difficulty occurred. The King was, at this time, in the hands of the parliamentary faction, and was, therefore, incompetent to give validity to the commission, even if he had been accessible. It was therefore agreed, by his Majesty's private approbation, that the com mission should be sent to Holland, to obtain the signature of the Prince of Wales, then a resident in that republic. These measures were concerted and accomplished; and Willoughby departed for Barbadoes, under the immediate sanction of regal authority, so early as 1646.

Lord Willoughby, thus commissioned and thus appointed, was received in his new government with that ardor and approbation, which the inhabitants were ever forward to manifest to the partizans of the royal cause. On his arrival, well knowing the dispositions which prevailed, though vested with supreme authority, he adopted such measures as should tend best to secure his popularity. He, therefore, artfully concealed the private negociation which subsisted between him and Carlisle. His measures, indeed, had a secret tendency towards this point, but no avowal was made of his real designs. It has been asserted, that he contrived to obtain from the wealthy inhabitants a private promise, that some acknowledgment should be made to the ancient proprietor, but nothing was done in an official manner. To carry his plans into execution was the work of time. But this was an age that teemed with revolutions; so that, before any thing could be effected, monarchy was abolished, the commonwealth was established; and Barbadoes, reduced to a submission to the republican government, defeated all

his schemes. His political principles were too well known to obtain the confidence of Cromwell; he was therefore recalled, and succeeded by one whose principles were more congenial to those of the reigning faction.

Though firmly attached to the cause of the unfortunate Charles, even their condition under the republic confirmed the inhabitants in their opinions, that to the Carlisle family they were discharged from every obligation. When these storms had somewhat subsided, and Charles II. had ascended the throne, Lord Willoughby, who had several years of his private contract unexpired, made an application to that monarch for a renewal of his authority to return to the government of the island. Of his former appointment the King could not be ignorant; he, therefore, concurred with the utmost readiness, and Willoughby found himself once more the legal Governor of Barbadoes.

Unfortunately, however, for his designs, a knowledge of the private contract between him and the Earl had by this time transpired, and reached the island. The inhabitants, therefore, saw with astonishment and regret, that they were still viewed as under the dominion of the patent, which they considered as void in law. To Lord Willoughby, as a representative of the crown, they had no objection; but, to admit him as Governor in any other capacity, they felt the utmost repugnance. In opposition, therefore, to such power, they implored the royal interference and protection. For they were fully convinced, that if this could not be obtained, they could produce no titles to their plantations, which they had raised from the most dreary wastes; but that they should be obliged, either to purchase them at such exorbitant prices as the descendants of Lord Carlisle should think proper to impose, or be compelled to quit for ever an island, which they had found a desert, but which, through their industry, they should, as it were, leave an Eden.

"They pleaded," says Lord Clarendon, "that they were "the King's subjects; that they had repaired to Barbadoes "as to a desolate place, and had by their industry obtained "a livelihood there, when with a good conscience they could "not stay in England; that if they should now be left to "those Lords, to ransom themselves and compound for their "estates, they must leave the country, and the plantations "be destroyed, which yielded his Majesty so good a revenue." In rescuing these unprofitable wastes from the wild condition in which they found them, the Earl, they contended, had not sustained the smallest expense, and therefore could

prefer no claim on the ground of loss. Of the original charter they did not deny the existence; but against its legality they most solemnly protested, founding their observations on those changes which had taken place during the commotions that had embroiled the parent state. And to terminate those differences of opinion, which subsisted between themselves and the government at home, they solicited his Majesty to give them leave to commence a process in the court of exchequer, at their own expense, but in his name, that the point in debate might be brought to a legal issue. Or, in case that this demand should be thought too great, they humbly petitioned him to withdraw his royal interference, and to permit them to contest the affair with the Carlisle family in the courts of law, promising cheerfully to abide by their ultimate decision.

But to neither of these propositions, however reasonable they may appear in themselves, did the King think proper to accede. On the contrary, with what designs it is impossible with accuracy now to say, he instituted an inquiry into the opposite claims of the contending parties; reserving for himself a right of decision on a cause which he hesitated to submit to a legal issue. The object of those who inherited the Carlisle estate, was, to recover their original right in the island; while that of the inhabitants, for reasons which have been already stated, was, to defeat their purposes, and to place the island under the dominion of the crown. It so happened, in the course of this inquiry, while the inhabitants were urging their plea, that one of the planters, in the warmth of that zeal which he expressed on the occasion, voluntarily offered in the name of the inhabitants at large, "*that, if his Majesty would be graciously pleased to take the island immediately into his hands, extending towards it his royal protection and care, the produce of all the estates should from henceforth be subject to an impost to be levied on its real value, at a certain per centum; which, after supporting a Governor, whom his Majesty should nominate and establish, should be at his Majesty's disposal.*"

An offer, at once so generous and advantageous, contained within it some arguments which were thought to be weighty and convincing! It was a subject of too much importance to be treated with indifference, or to be permitted to languish in the shade. This proposition opened a new field for negociation, and brought with it a light, which, finally, conducted the committee of the Privy Council to the termination of the business.

The offer thus made, was instantly laid before his Majesty, who was pleased to accept of it as an outline of settlement. Some time, however, became necessary for the committee to form some crude calculations on the probable advantages that would arise from this compromise; and this could only be known from an estimate of the general produce. The planters, in the mean while, apprehensive that the individual who had made the proposition, had involved the interests of the island, and proposed a tax which would hang upon themselves and their posterity for ever, felt much reluctance in giving their sanction to the measure. They contended, that Mr. Kendall, who had made the offer, had gone beyond the boundaries of his delegated authority; and they absolutely refused, in their official capacity, to ratify what he had so indiscreetly proposed. The committee, however, were inexorable, and refused, on their part, to relinquish a proposition, which opened a new source of revenue, and promised such incalculable wealth. Here, then, both parties were entirely at issue. Each saw and felt the importance of the object, and seemed resolved to adhere to the purposes which suited the interest for which each contended. The crown, however, finally so far prevailed on the whole body of negociating planters, as to obtain from them a promise, that on their return to Barbadoes they would use their influence with their constituents, to accede to a measure which should settle upon the crown such an impost as the condition of the island would allow, subject to the determination of the colonial assembly.

While these affairs between the king and the colony were thus negociating, in a manner which promised in some shape or other a speedy termination, the friends, creditors, and inheritors, of the Carlisle interest took the alarm. These successively put in their respective claims, to prevent, if possible, the closing of a negociation, which should deprive them of their interest in the island, and their hopes for ever.

The original patentee, it was stated, had left his affairs in a state of great embarrassment; his debts were of a considerable amount; and his possessions in this, and in other islands in the West Indies, were the only bases of security on which his creditors rested their hopes. The annuity, also, of three hundred pounds, which the patentee had stipulated to pay *Lord Ley* for withdrawing his patent, it appeared, was considerably in arrear. The creditors were alarmed for the security of their property, and therefore felt an interest in opposing the compact that was about to be made. In the

meanwhile, exclusively of these claims upon the actual property in the island, Lord Willoughby demanded, by virtue of an agreement between him and the proprietor, as we have already noticed, one-half of those profits which might arise from the produce of the island, till the period of his private contract should expire; while the *Earl of Kinnoul*, to whom the late Earl of Carlisle had bequeathed his property in the West Indies, demanded the other half till the expiration of the private agreement to which we have alluded, and the whole amount after that period.

To satisfy all parties, and reconcile such jarring interests, was absolutely impossible; some must, therefore, inevitably sustain either real or imaginary wrongs. To enforce the impost on the produce of the island, which should be, henceforward, at the disposal of the crown, seems to have been with the committee a fundamental principle; from which it was evident, from the measures adopting, it was their determination never to recede. It must, however, be acknowledged, *under existing circumstances*, that the distribution of the profits was such, as to leave no very unfavorable idea of that justice with which they were administered.

From that information which the committee had been able to obtain, on the annual profits of the island, through those mediums of intelligence which were placed within their reach, the impost that was about to be levied was irrevocably fixed at *four and a half per centum*. This amount, it was resolved, should be paid in specie, on all such commodities as the island should hereafter produce; to be estimated, prior to their being shipped for any of those markets which the inhabitants had hitherto supplied, or which any future discoveries might lead them hereafter to explore. Such was the substance of that law, which was about to begin its operation; and which, in its general principle, they were resolved should be subject to no alteration.

The appropriation of this sum, the amount of which was at present uncertain, it was also resolved, should be made to the different claimants, in the following manner: The Earl of Kinnoul, holding the Carlisle patent, to the validity of which he still professed to be proselyted, stipulated with the crown, that this questionable right should be immediately surrendered into his Majesty's hands, upon condition, that an immediate and honorable provision should be made for him; and so far effectually secured, as to leave no room for litigation or fraud. This, therefore, became a primary consi-

deration; and to this point it was determined that the first profits resulting from the impost should be applied.

In the second place, it was resolved, that since the annuity of Lord Ley was in arrear, the next object should be a discharge of such claims, as, arising from that ancient compact, might be satisfactorily proved to be just and right.

In the third place, it was determined, that, as many creditors of the original patentee remained yet unpaid; and, as it appeared that Lord Willoughby, by virtue of a former lease, had a claim of one-half of Carlisle's profits arising from the produce of the island, and that several years of this lease remained yet unexpired; the surplus, after the previous provisions mentioned, should be equally divided. But since the period of Willoughby's lease, in a few years, would naturally expire, and in all probability long before the creditors of the original patentee could be satisfied, it was, furthermore, appointed, that, after this period, deducting the annual sum of one thousand two hundred pounds for the Governor for the time being, the whole should be proportionably divided among these creditors, until their claims were cancelled and discharged.

And, finally, it was appointed, that after the liquidation of the above debts,—the discharge of the above obligations,—and the removal of the above incumbrances, the whole revenue of the island, after deducting one thousand two hundred pounds per annum, for the Governor, should be at his Majesty's disposal, without any restriction whatsoever.

As a compensation to the inhabitants, from whose industry all these sums were to be exacted, they were given to understand, That they were now fully placed under that royal protection, which they had sought with so much earnestness and solicitude---That they were henceforward freed from all individual claims, through any patent which had been previously granted; and, that they were to be fully confirmed in their possession of their respective estates, without having their titles called in question, or without being exposed to those local inconveniences which had, occasionally, damped their ardor, and awakened their apprehensions of danger.

Such was the manner in which these affairs were settled in England; and such, also, were the commencement and the termination of the proprietary government of Barbadoes! But, though these plans were thus established in the mother country, an affair of some difficulty still remained. The inhabitants of the island, considered as a body, had not been consulted; and though that royal protection which they had

so long solicited, was extended towards them, to the utter abolition of the Carlisle power, yet these benefits were obtained by them upon conditions, which, it was natural to conclude, they would not much approve. To carry them, therefore, into execution, Willoughby, who felt interested in the issue, repaired once more to Barbadoes in 1663, to take upon him the management of those affairs which had been preconcerted at home, and to rivet on those shackles upon the inhabitants which had been already forged.

On his Lordship's arrival, he was received with evident marks of indifference, if not with those of detestation. He was viewed in the light of an oppressor; and many of the inhabitants, knowing him to be interested in his own transactions, considered him as the author of their wrongs. Against the conduct of Great Britain they grew clamorous and discontented, and uttered such invectives as indicated a reluctant submission, if not a formidable opposition. These, however, were but weak displays of ineffectual disapprobation. It was in vain that they pleaded their former attachment to the royal cause, and pointed out the hardships they had sustained in consequence of their acting in conformity to that attachment. It was to no purpose that they adverted to those favors which had been bestowed upon others, who had been less deserving, and who were in a certain measure rewarded with the spoils of Barbadoes. It was in vain that they insisted, that the impost which they were destined to suffer, operated as a tax upon labor, and tended to lay an embargo upon that spirit of industry, which, unshackled and free, had rescued the soil from its solitary and desert condition.

These and other topics of complaint were alike ineffectually urged. The resolution had been previously determined at home; and force, as a necessary precaution, had been introduced into the island, to compel a compliance, in case intrigue and artifice should fail. Affairs were fast approaching to the important crisis which was to determine the fate of the island. The assembly was called upon to pass an act to levy *four and a half per cent.*;—an act, upon the existence or non-existence of which, was suspended the freedom or servitude of the inhabitants and their posterity.

The opposition to the measure, as might naturally be expected, was formidable and active; but neither number nor vigor was of any avail. Those who exerted themselves with energy, to protect their country from what they thought an innovation, only singled themselves out as objects of political vengeance, who were doomed to expiate their

offences, by undergoing such punishment as would, in future, incapacitate them for a repetition of their crimes.

Of this truth, the case of Colonel Farmer furnishes us with a memorable instance. This gentleman, feeling indignant at the methods about to be adopted, exerted himself to prevent, if possible, the passing of an act, which, he well knew, future generations would deplore. Actuated by these patriotic principles, he became the soul of that party which opposed the measures of Willoughby. This rendered him odious to the servants of the crown; and the immediate consequence was, that he was arrested under a pretence of mutiny and treason;—was dispatched from the island;—was sent a prisoner to England;—was kept in a close and severe confinement;—and was not finally liberated, till his opposition could no longer be of any avail.*

Intimidated by this example of injustice and oppression, the inhabitants grew dispirited, and abandoned a cause which they could no longer defend with any probability of success. They found themselves as vassals at the feet of an ungrateful monarch; and were obliged, with sullen reluctance, to comply with a measure which it was not in their power to avoid.

Thus was established, through the joint co-operation of intrigue and power, the famous impost of four and a half per cent. upon all dead commodities, the produce of the island, though exported to any part of the habitable globe. Thus was the island, from the zenith of commercial and agricultural prosperity, reduced to a state of abject dependence, and even of servitude. From this state it has retraced, in a retrograde manner, those steps that led it to exaltation; and through which, it became an object on which ambition

* On the arrival of Colonel Farmer in England, he was brought before the King and Council; and, from the reports which had been transmitted from Barbadoes, charged with *mutiny*, *sedition*, *rebellion*, and *treason*. But as these were crimes of which he was not guilty, the accusations could easily be repelled. He was called upon for his defence; which he delivered with such a degree of energy and freedom, as he had been accustomed to exercise in his favorite island. But this was a liberty which the court could not bear; so that his crime received the additional charge of insolence and contumely; insomuch, that Lord Clarendon declared him deserving of imprisonment. *Farmer*, however, urged his rights as an Englishman, and contended, that his language was perfectly constitutional, and could not be justly construed into disloyalty. Unfortunately, however, his apology, or explanation, became an aggravation of his guilt; and he was ordered into immediate confinement, through the influence of Lord Clarendon, who felt himself opposed by the freedom with which Farmer spoke.

fixed its eagle eyes, and avarice its iron talons. The effects of this impost are severely felt to the present hour; and generations yet unborn will, in all probability, look back with sorrow on the 12*th of September*, 1663, the day on which the act bears date.

Having thus taken a survey of the discovery and first peopling of Barbadoes, and noticed also the commencement, continuance, and termination of the proprietary government, it will be necessary to carry back our views, to mark the prominent features of those internal transactions of the island, which occurred during those changes that we have been pursuing. By thus bringing forward these double streams of history till both unite in one, under the surrender of the Carlisle patent to the crown; we shall be able to trace those incidents which the peculiarity of circumstances called into being, and which, from their combination, led to that prosperity which the island experienced in the early periods of its settlement.

We have already noticed, that Philip Bell was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Barbadoes in the year 1641; and, that under his administration, the colony acquired a degree of permanency and consistency, to which it had been before a stranger. It has also been observed, that the calamities which afflicted England during the commonwealth brought a number of respectable inhabitants to the island. Many of those were gentlemen from Kent, Suffolk, Essex, Hereford, Devonshire, and Cornwall, who repaired hither to enjoy that peace, which they could not obtain in their native land.

The inhabitants, pouring in from the mother-country, to an asylum which at once offered and afforded them protection, rendered many internal regulations highly necessary. Mr. Bell, by the advice and concurrence of a council which he had appointed, formed an assembly to represent the people. These, co-operating together, agreed to divide the island into eleven parishes, which parishes were comprehended in four circuits or districts. They were organized, with their peculiar functions, and directed their energies towards the movement of the grand machine. "While the "other colonies," says Raynal, "were rather ravaged than "cultivated, by those vagabonds who had been driven from "home by poverty or licentiousness, Barbadoes daily re-"ceived new inhabitants, who brought along with them, "not only their stock of money, but a taste for labor,

" courage, activity, ambition, those vices and virtues which " are the fruits of civil war."

This great influx of white inhabitants, and of wealth, soon rendered an increase of blacks necessary to cultivate the land. Africa, and the continental shores of America, were ransacked in pursuit of slaves, and thousands were imported from these distant regions of the globe. In Africa, they were purchased as articles of common traffic; but in America, theft was employed to procure the unlawful prey.

It was in one of these diabolical excursions, that an event took place, which stands unrivalled in the annals of ingratitude; and which has been deservedly held forth as an instance of human baseness, to excite the abhorrence and detestation of mankind.

Some of our countrymen, habituated to depredation, had repaired from the island to the neighbouring continent, to obtain, either by fraud or force, some of the Charaibee Indians, to carry them to slavery and Barbadoes. The Indians, knowing that the white people frequently hovered along their coasts, were at this time prepared for their reception. They were fully conscious, that it was to no purpose to parley with the invaders; they, therefore, collected their forces, fell upon them, killed the greater part, and put the rest to flight. Among the fugitives was a young man, whose name was *Inkle;* who, retiring into the woods, suffered inconceivable hardships, and wandered for some considerable time without any hope of being rescued,---a victim of despair. In this forlorn condition, he was accidentally discovered by a beautiful young Charaibee woman, whose bosom felt the emotions of pity and compassion for the unfortunate stranger; and forgetting the enemy of her country in the object of distress, she instantly formed to herself a resolution to support him in a clandestine manner, till an opportunity might be afforded for his escape. Faithful to her engagement, she secreted him without betraying her trust; she fed him, and relieved by her company, on all possible occasions, the horrors of his solitude. At length, the favorable moment arrived, when she saw an English boat or vessel hovering upon the shore. She instantly made him acquainted with the joyful tidings, and, becoming his guide, conducted him in safety to the coast.

The friendship, however, which she had conceived for him in his distress, had, during their interviews, softened into affection; so that when they came to part, instead of bidding him adieu for ever, *Yarico*, for that was her name,

begged to accompany him to the *land of strangers*. *Inkle* complied. *Yarico* got on board the vessel; and both set sail together, and reached Barbadoes in safety. But, horrible to relate, scarcely had they landed, before the monster, bursting through every tie of humanity, affection, and gratitude, sold his deliverer and the preserver of his life, and consigned her over to perpetual slavery!

On this detestable scene Mr. Edwards remarks, with an apathy peculiar on such occasions to his pages, " that such " of his readers as have sympathized with the unfortunate " *Yarico*, will not be sorry to hear, that she bore her mis- " fortunes with greater philosophy than they have, hitherto, " fancied. The story," he adds, " was first related by " *Ligon*, who, after praising poor Yarico's excellent com- " plexion, which, he says, was ' *a bright bay*,' and her " small breasts *with nipples of porphyrie*, observes, that " *she chanced afterwards to be with child by a christian* " *servant; and being very great, walked down to a wood,* " *in which was a pond of water, and there by the side of* " *the pond brought herself a-bed; and in three hours came* " *home with the child in her arms, a lusty boy, frolicke* " *and lively*."

" The crime of Inkle, the merchant, however," he sagely adds, " admits of no palliation." This is the only expression of disapprobation which he uses on the occasion. But he seems much displeased with Raynal for giving to this shocking anecdote some of its native shades; and does not seem pleased with Addison, for recording it in the Spectator for the detestation of mankind.

But it was from the continent of Africa that Barbadoes chiefly derived its slaves. These were imported in considerable numbers, capable at once of populating, cultivating, and endangering the welfare of the island. The white inhabitants, it has been confidently asserted, amounted, in 1650, to *twenty thousand* souls; at which time, they could muster ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, for the defence of the colony. This, however, did not deter the negroes, who were still more numerous, from attempting to throw off the yoke. Estimating their power by their numbers, they meditated a revolt, and conducted their conspiracy with so much secrecy, that they had even fixed the day for an universal rising. But one of the leaders of the plot informed his master of it. The name of this gentleman, to whom a discovery of the plot was made, was *Hotherfall*, who, the instant he received the information, dispatched

intelligence to every part, and apprized the planters of their danger. The island was instantly in alarm. The negroes were seized in their huts. Justice proceeded with expedition; the ringleaders and contrivers of the plot were found guilty, and executed by break of day. This damped the ardor of the insurgents. A discovery of the plot prevented its execution; and tranquillity was again restored.

On the arrival of Lord Willoughby, the island was found in a most flourishing condition. It was inhabited chiefly by those who were attached to the royal cause; and they were confirmed in their attachments by the congenial sentiments of the new Governor. Soon after his arrival, an act was passed, expressive of their loyalty and their fidelity to the unfortunate Charles, at that time a prisoner to the parliamentary forces; and their allegiance appeared to acquire vigor, in proportion as the affairs of that monarch became more desperate.

Not content with testifying their own loyalty, the Governor and inhabitants concerted plans for rendering assistance to the royal cause. Many ships were fitted out by them; and many men were raised, to act as circumstances might direct, in the reduction of those islands which had acknowledged the Commonwealth. How great or small the assistance might be, which their exertions rendered to the Stuarts, is not the question; it is evident, that by these means, they manifested an invincible attachment to the cause which they had espoused, and rendered themselves odious to that party which they had opposed. From the former, they were entitled, on the Restoration, to gratitude; but this was withholden; while, from the latter, they procured vengeance; and this was paid.

Cromwell, and his adherents, finding the inhabitants of Barbadoes such strenuous supporters of that cause which was completely ruined, determined upon the reduction of the island; and collected forces, and concerted their measures accordingly. What expedited their designs was, a report which prevailed in England, that Prince Rupert, who commanded the royal fleet, was about to sail to Barbadoes, to act in concert with the inhabitants, and to attempt the securing of all the sister islands for the exiled monarch. There was also another incentive to action, which arose from a misunderstanding then prevailing between the republic of Holland and the British powers.

From the commencement of those commotions which agitated England, the inhabitants of Barbadoes had found

much difficulty in transporting the produce of their plantations to Europe. This had induced them to employ the ships of Holland in a traffic, that was for the mutual advantage of both parties. If, therefore, a reduction of Barbadoes could be effected by the forces of Cromwell, two objects would be at once accomplished; the wealth of this flourishing island would be immediately turned into a channel that would flow into the mother-country; and the Dutch would be deprived of an advantageous commerce, which instructed her sailors, and added to her riches. In addition to this, Cromwell had reason to believe, that an attack upon the island by a sudden onset, would secure to him many valuable ships, and more valuable cargoes, which were to be found in the several harbors. And the confiscation of this property would not only indemnify the country for the expense of the expedition, but leave a surplus, which, flowing into the treasury, would lay the foundation of some future expedition either by sea or land.

From these and similar motives, a powerful squadron was fitted out, in the year 1651, under the command of *Sir George Ascue;* at which time, Lord Willoughby was Governor of Barbadoes. The primary object of this expedition was, to reduce the island to obedience to the Commonwealth. It was on the 16th of October, 1651, that Ascue and his fleet appeared for the first time off Bridge-town; when they instantly seized on a few ships that were in Carlisle Bay. The capture of these ships was effected without much trouble; but the reduction of the island was found, both from its natural and artificial fortifications, a work of no inconsiderable difficulty.

The inhabitants, at this time, were numerous, and trained to arms. They knew the advantages of their situation, both for commerce and for war; and, with Willoughby at their head, determined to defend the island to the last extremity. In the meanwhile, Ascue, surveying his forces and the nature of the enterprize which lay before him, found, that the forts in Carlisle Bay were so adequate to the defence of the harbor (while the shores were rendered formidable, by the swarms that had assembled under arms to receive him), that, although he had no less than *two thousand* troops on board, he did not effect a landing.

From the period of his arrival, till some time in December, he did little more than hover round the coasts; wavering in suspense with respect to his intention, but keeping the inhabitants in constant alarm. Perceiving, however, the inade-

quacy of his forces to subdue this citadel of loyalty and prosperity, he at length postponed his enterprize, till the arrival of a fleet of merchant ships from Virginia, on board of which were about eight hundred and fifty soldiers. To avail himself of this reinforcement, he cast anchor in Speight's Bay. On their arrival, he united their forces with his own; and, finally, effecting a landing, gained, though with considerable loss, the little fort that commanded Speight's Bay, which, at that time, mounted four pieces of cannon.

The fate of empires sometimes appears to depend upon trifles; and, consequently, the fate of islands, though always under the direction of an unerring providence. This little advantage inspired Ascue and his troops with new vigour, and dispirited the inhabitants in proportion to their own exultation. The gaining of this little fort was, in reality, no great acquisition to Ascue; neither was its loss of any considerable importance to the colonists; but this was not the barometer by which their judgments were at that moment measured. Many of them grew languid and indifferent; and Ascue, availing himself of the paroxysm of the moment, pushed his conquests under the favorable breeze.

Willoughby, in the meanwhile, kept the field with the main force of the island; and though he could expect no succour from any quarter, he continued to maintain his ground; which he did so effectually, that Ascue could make no impression upon his troops. The republican commander, finding his situation rather critical than hazardous, turned his attention to the inhabitants at large, and offered them terms of peace, that were both honorable and advantageous. to these they listened with much satisfaction; and, though not greatly wearied with the fatigues of war, they felt much distress in beholding the destruction of their plantations, to the cultivation and care of which they had paid such unremitting attention. The charms of peace outweighed every other consideration; the subject was investigated with all that maturity which time would allow; and the principal inhabitants were found averse to further hostilities.

Thus circumstanced, a negociation was set on foot; and Lord Willoughby, acquainted with the dispositions of the people, soon agreed to a cessation of arms. Commissioners were appointed by each party, and their affairs were soon adjusted; so that, on the 17th of January, 1652, articles of peace and capitulation were ratified, without any further effusion of human blood. By these articles, both parties

that were on the island were secured in their freedom and their property. This extended even to Lord Willoughby, who was particularly disagreeable to the ruling power; but his ready acquiescence in the terms of negociation, while a formidable force under his command might have changed the face of things, did, in all probability, include him in the general security. He was, however, obliged to abandon his station, and immediately to embark for Europe; but his property in the island was rendered still safe. He was succeeded in his office by a Mr. Searle, who continued Governor of Barbadoes till the death of Cromwell; after which, the government of the island was given to Colonel Modiford.

But Barbadoes, though subdued, was still considered in England in an unfavorable light; and, to clip her wings, parliament resolved to alter her whole system of commerce. To accomplish this the more completely, a law was enacted, which prohibited all foreign ships from holding any intercourse with the British plantations. And the more effectually to promote the welfare and navigation of the country, no merchandize was to be imported, either into England or any of its dependencies, except in English vessels, unless the merchandize imported should be of a foreign nation; but, in this case, it could only be imported in ships of that country of which these articles were the genuine production.

To these restrictions, though severe in themselves, the inhabitants of Barbadoes submitted without much reluctance. They considered themselves in the light of a conquered people; they, therefore, viewed these partial evils which they were destined to sustain, as, comparatively, few in number, when brought in competition with those benefits which they still retained, or with those greater evils which an adverse faction might, with ease, have inflicted. What still served to render their condition tolerable was, that they viewed these evils as of a temporary nature only; and, waiting the arrival of some changes in government, which they were led to anticipate, as the means of delivering them from the present scourge, their hopes were more than a counterbalance for their present losses and fears.

But these hopes, alas! were even worse than delusive. The restoration of Charles was not to them a restoration of those privileges which they had sacrificed in his cause, but a confirmation of those evils which they had endured on his account. It was with an astonishment that could only be equalled by their indignation, that they beheld Charles II. tread in the same steps with his republican predecessors;

and confirm the provisions of an act which they flattered themselves would be abolished for ever, with some additional clauses, which obliged the master, and three-fourths of the seamen, of every ship employed in the British trade, to be subjects of Britain.

It was thus, from, apparently, trivial causes and incidental circumstances, that the famous *Navigation Act* took its rise. This act, which in its operation has tended so much to enrich the country at large, could boast, at first, no better motives than those we have already noticed; and it may be considered as one of those causes, which have united their influence to reduce the colony from its highest pitch of glory to its subsequent and present state.

The conduct of the mother-country, in both stages of her revolutions, not only filled the inhabitants of Barbadoes with disgust, but encircled what had been the habitation of industry with an impenetrable gloom. Consultations and complaints succeeded to enterprize and activity; many turned their attention to other abodes, while some languished in discontented indolence; and all united, both by their actions and their words, to predict the ruin, in a great measure, of one of the most flourishing colonies on which the sun had ever darted his enlivening beams.

It was nearly about the time that the Navigation Act was first passed, that an expedition, under the command of Penn and Venables, was fitted out against Hispaniola. It, however, proved unsuccessful; and Jamaica was captured from the Spaniards in consequence of this failure. Barbadoes, at this period, had furnished three thousand five hundred soldiers towards the expedition, the success of which contributed to effect their own degradation. Jamaica, on its capture, became a large field for speculative men. Multitudes turned their attention towards it; and events have justified the expectations which they had previously formed. But, in proportion as Jamaica advanced in wealth, inhabitants, and respectability, Barbadoes fell. A combination of causes united against her successes; even her own troops were employed to subdue an island, which was to become a formidable rival; and which has since actually obtained many of those advantages which Barbadoes once engrossed.

The island, however, was not dismantled of her glory on a sudden, though a stagnation in almost every department of her commerce was visible at once. About the year 1670, which, probably, was nearly the period of its greatest population, it was computed to contain about *fifty thousand*

white, and *one hundred thousand black inhabitants*. These conducted a trade which gave constant employment to *four hundred ships*, of *one hundred and fifty tons each*, which conveyed the rich productions of the island to the mother-country, and to foreign ports; in short, to any country where they could find a market. "Never," says Raynal, "had the earth beheld such a number of planters collected "in so small a compass, or so many rich productions raised "in so short a time."

Lord Willoughby, on the restoration of Charles II. was sent back to Barbadoes, in 1663, as before observed, to enforce those regulations and laws which had been previously concerted, and even established, at home. The following year, his attention, as well as that of the colonists, was directed to an object of as serious a nature, as that which had occurred prior to his departure for England, about eleven years before. Willoughby, who, in 1651, was called upon to collect the forces of the island against Sir George Ascue, was now compelled to oppose De Ruyter, the Dutch Admiral, who, with a formidable force appeared off its shores with an evident design to attempt its subjugation. Like Ascue, he began in Carlisle Bay; but the fort which had been erected to protect that entrance, saluted him so warmly, that he could turn his onset to no favorable account. The island, being at this time thickly peopled, could muster a formidable militia. These were instantly drawn out, and exposed upon the beach; in which situation, their appearance assumed such a commanding aspect, that De Ruyter gave over his design, and retired from the coast.

About two years afterward, as an act of retaliation for this attempt of De Ruyter, Willoughby equipped a squadron, and sailed from Barbadoes, to attack some of the Dutch settlements on the continental coasts. During his absence, he appointed Henry Hawley and Henry Willoughby to fill his office conjointly, constituting them Deputy-Governors, and authorizing them to transact the affairs of the island until his return. His expedition proved extremely unsuccessful. Instead of accomplishing the object at which he aimed, his ship was wrecked on a distant coast, and he perished in the fatal catastrophe.

Some time had elapsed from his embarkation, before his death was known in England; so that the Deputy-Governors whom he appointed continued in office much longer than was at first intended. These men, during their power, passed an act, with the concurrence of the Assembly, for

the appointment of commissioners to revise, amend, and embody certain laws, which were then in existence; some of which, having since received the royal approbation, continue in force to the present hour.

The death of Lord Willoughby being ascertained in the mother-country, his Majesty appointed his brother, William Lord Willoughby, to succeed him in the government of Barbadoes, instead of those who then exercised the office by deputation. This nobleman continued in this office till 1674; when, on his death, Sir John Atkins was appointed to supply his place. Under his direction the island continued till 1680, when he was recalled to his native country. Nothing of any particular moment occurred during their administration. Some private laws were passed, relative to the internal police of the island, and many regulations were made respecting the courts of justice and law.

Among these acts of internal regulation and police, some were beneficial, and others were oppressive. Of the latter, was an act which serves to place the ruling powers in no very favorable light. Some pious quakers, it appears, from motives of compassion to their fellow-creatures, had endeavored to direct the negroes to flee from the wrath to come. Their principles of non-resistance rendered them obnoxious both to censure and punishment, and were made the pretence for introducing an act, which prohibited all negroes from attending any meeting-houses whatever. The same act contained a clause, which even forbade dissenters to instruct their pupils, or even to keep schools, upon the island. Hence then it is evident, that though the non-resisting principles of the quakers were made the pretext for the prohibition, the aim was of another nature; because, the clauses of the act involved those, to whom these principles of non-resistance could have no application. Dissenters, so denominated, do not inculcate these principles; yet, the prohibition extended also to them, and actually forbade them to keep schools for the instruction of youth. Necessity, we admit, was pleaded in extenuation of this violation of the most sacred of all principles,—*liberty of conscience;* but, unfortunately for such apologists, this very necessity which has been urged, proves the necessity of introducing the gospel. There may be, and there undoubtedly are, many cases in which labor is of more utility than learning; but the condition of that island must be deplorable indeed, when an exclusion of

piety, and of the moral virtues, becomes necessary for its preservation.*

The island, which, from its exalted prosperity, had experienced a considerable depression, both in its commerce and the number of its inhabitants, began to revive a little, just before the arrival of *Atkins*, in 1674. The total sum of its population, at this time, amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand; which, though superior to what it had been on a preceding year, was thirty thousand less than the colony could produce in the year 1670. This casual prosperity was not only diminutive in itself, but transient in its duration. A dreadful hurricane, which happened in the month of August 1675, spread desolation through the island, and almost in an instant changed the whole face of things. And what still tended to render the calamity more severe was, that those supplies of timber and provisions, which they had been accustomed to receive from the northern continent of America, were partially suspended, through an inability to comply with the accustomed demand.

Reduced to an extremity, to which they had been hitherto strangers, through the calamities which they experienced in the destruction of their crops, they petitioned the mother-country to relieve them from the four and a half per cent. This they stated as actually necessary to preserve the island from destruction. But this petition was made in vain. Solicitations and remonstrances were alike ineffectual. They were permitted to complain, but were, finally, compelled

* On the pernicious effects of this law, *Sewell*, in his history of the people called Quakers, makes the following observation:

"In the Island of Barbadoes, those called quakers suffered also much "by the people, instigated not a little by the priests, *Samuel Graves*, "*Matthew Gray*, *Thomas Manwaring*, and *Francis Smith*; for these being "often drunk, gave occasion thereby to be reproved. And one *Thomas* "*Clark*, coming once into the place of public worship, and exhorting the "auditors to desist from lewdness, and to fear God, was so grievously "beaten with sticks, that he fell into a swoon; and *Graves*, who preached "then, went to the house of the said *Clark*, pulled his wife out of doors, "and tore her clothes from her back. And *Manwaring*, who had threat-"ened *Clark*, that he would procure a law to be made, by which his ears "should be cut off, once wrote to him thus: *I am sorry that your zeal* "*surpasseth your moderation, and that a club must beat you out of what the* "*Devil hath inspired.* And this was because *Clark* had told him, that his "conversation was not becoming a minister of the gospel. Other rough "treatment *Clark* met with, I pass by, though once he was set in the "stocks, and imprisoned."

(SEWELL's Hist. of the Quakers.)

to bear their own calamities, and to redress those grievances which it was not in their power speedily to remove.

In 1685, when Richard Dutton, Esq. was Governor, the inhabitants found, to their utter astonishment, an additional duty laid upon sugar. This was a burden which considerably reduced the value of their estates. In this case, also, they represented their grievances to the government at home, and endeavored to point out the injustice of the measure; but these remonstrances and representations, like those which they had made before, were unavailable. Dutton encouraged every motion to distress the planters, and Dutton was always heard. Attached to the interests of the royal African company, he seized every opportunity to promote their cause, and actually appointed, on a voyage which he took to England, one *Edwin Stede*, who was an agent to the African company, and had been his secretary, to be his Deputy-Governor in the island.

Hitherto the Governors of Barbadoes had received their salaries from England alone; but *Stede* had the address, during the absence of Dutton, to prevail upon the Assembly to make him a present of one thousand pounds. This suggestion they incautiously adopted; and by adopting it, established a precedent, which has continued to the present hour. Every new Governor now views this present, as a debt or obligation, which he has a right to demand; and the custom has been too long established to be revoked.

In the year 1694, the Honorable Francis Russell came to the government; and the Council and Assembly, to out-do the former precedent, voted him two thousand pounds; and in the following year, voted him two thousand more. This conduct was much reprobated by the inhabitants at large. They considered it as a lavish profusion of the public money, and as the establishment of a grievance, to which there could hardly be any bounds. The injurious consequences which must always result from such a procedure, it is not difficult to foresee; though it is extremely perplexing to calculate upon all its branches. They lead men to forget the rights of others; and induce them to claim, as a branch of their prerogative, what only flows from the bounty of the inhabitants. In 1698, the same sum of two thousand pounds was again voted to Mr. Grey, together with five hundred pounds for the rent of a house, the government-house being much out of repair. This, however, met with but little reprehension from the public, because his government was extremely popular, and promised fair to repay them for their

generosity. His bad state of health, however, disappointed their hopes; and in 1701, he was obliged to take leave of the island.

From this period, a succession of Governors, whose administration contains nothing remarkable, continued, promiscuously, to benefit or afflict the inhabitants, in proportion as justice or iniquity marked their deeds. On these, as their actions afford nothing interesting to the reader, it is needless to expatiate. The arrival of Lord Viscount Howe, in the year 1733, forms, however, an epoch in the annals of the island, and must not be passed over in silence. The general good character which this nobleman had borne in England raised the expectations of the people to a most exalted pitch, and disappointment did not mock their hopes.

Satisfied with that excellent character which he imported with him from his native land, immediately on his arrival they settled upon his Lordship *four thousand pounds*, and cheerfully gave him credit for the equity of his future administration. From the embarrassed circumstances of the island, this was, indeed, a large sum; but his conduct demonstrated that it was not injudiciously bestowed. With a generosity unknown to his predecessors, it was thrown into circulation in the colony, and returned through those secret channels which commerce opens, to those sources from whence it sprang.

With an eye steadily fixed on the constitution of the island, and with a soul lifted above the contentions of faction, he administered justice with an impartial hand. The spirit of party, which some of his predecessors had fomented by their secret engagements, vanished into silence before him; general tranquillity prevailed; and the approbation of his own heart, acting in unison with the affections of the inhabitants, rewarded his integrity with the blessings of domestic peace. Between himself, the Council, and the Assembly, a good understanding uniformly prevailed; the mother-country and the colony were mutually benefited; prosperity, which had so long languished in darkness, began again to revive, and promised advantages, which, by an equal distribution, should recompense the exertions of all.—By the inhabitants, the weight of their imposts was comparatively forgotten, and their grievances were no longer subjects of declamation.

From the situation of Barbadoes under the government of this nobleman, it has been even demonstrated, that the welfare of our sugar colonies is very much dependent upon

the conduct of the Governor; and nothing can more imperiously enforce this lesson—that the selection of a proper character to fill that station, is an act of the last importance.

But, alas! his Lordship's peaceable administration was of short duration. In the month of March 1735, he was called upon to pay his tribute of mortality, and to consign over Barbadoes once more to those vicissitudes which have in part occasioned her distress. The Council and Assembly, on his demise, as a tribute of gratitude to his memory, presented to Lady Howe, amid the applauses of their countrymen, the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds. Such was the character of Lord Howe, the illustrious father of the noble Earl, who has immortalized his name by the glorious victory which he obtained over the French fleet on the memorable 1st of June 1794.

From the flourishing condition in which the island was left at the death of Lord Howe, it fell into a gradual decline, and sustained calamities which are not yet fully retrieved. Though various causes contributed to the commercial humiliation of Barbadoes, among the primary, we must reckon two dreadful fires which took place in 1766, the depredations of which were almost incalculable. Bridge-town, the capital of the island, at that time containing fifteen hundred dwelling-houses and stores, chiefly built of brick and stone, and laid out upon a plan that rendered them as convenient as they were spacious, was reduced to ashes, and its inhabitants to the utmost distress.

Industry and perseverance, however, in process of time, in a great measure, surmounted these difficulties; so that a new town was raised with a degree of elegance which surpassed the old. But, unfortunately, it was again demolished, on the 10th of October 1780, by one of those tremendous hurricanes which, occasionally, desolate these abodes.—To these awful visitations, Barbadoes, with all its advantages, has been particularly exposed; and it cannot be doubted, that these afflictions have tended considerably to reduce its commercial prosperity.

The dreadful tornado of 1780 extended to the inhabitants, as well as to their property; and in its awful ruins, no less than four thousand three hundred and twenty-six white and black inhabitants miserably perished. The island, by this unexampled calamity, was shaken from its circumference to its centre; so that almost every thing valuable to man seemed destined to suffer in the general wreck. To estimate,

with accuracy, the damage which the colony received in all its departments, would be an impossible task. The calculation which was made soon after the mournful occasion, estimated the loss at little less than *one million and a half* sterling. And what still tended to heighten the calamity, was, the reduced state of many of the sufferers, which forbade them to erect again those works which had been demolished, or to replant canes where the former ones had been destroyed.

It has, indeed, been stated, from the best authorities, that the annual growth of the sugar-cane, the principal and most advantageous commodity of the island, has, through a combination of causes, been reduced nearly one-half; and that those articles which are dependent upon it, have decreased in a like proportion. The inhabitants, it is true, have found some little relief in the cultivation of cotton and ginger; but these commodities are incapable of restoring the colony to its former splendor. A re-establishment of the important article of sugar in its former extent, must be the labor of an age; and while the heavy impost of *four and a half per cent.* continues, but little reason to expect it remains.

It appears, however, by the most recent account, that the lands have of late years been cultivated with some considerable success;—that the growth of sugar has, in consequence, increased;—and, that the colony is, at present, in a more flourishing condition than it was in the years 1784, 1785, and 1786. These years, in conjunction with those which more immediately succeeded the devastations of the hurricane of 1780, may be considered as the period of its greatest commercial adversity; a period in which this staple commodity was at its lowest ebb. The increase of sugar has, however, but slowly taken place in the island. The same civil causes that first created that languor which we have noticed, are still in being, and, under existing circumstances, can scarcely fail to produce the same effect. The natural causes also of those calamities, over which more than the present generation of men will find occasion to mourn in Barbadoes, are still at work, and frequently portend a repetition of their former distressing visitations. Bereft of the advantages which might enable them to meet those incidents that are in themselves uncertain, but almost inevitable, the inhabitants feel much reluctance in risking the necessary preparations for a perilous adventure. This, unavoidably, produces languor and indecision; and the consequence is, what must be expected while obstacles

to industry and exertion are permitted to operate;—a neglect of those resources of nature, which have been already appreciated in their value, and felt in their effects, and which are still waiting to conduct the enterprizing to wealth.

The constitution of Barbadoes may be considered as the basis of the civil and military governments which have been established in the other British settlements in the West Indies, of a later date. But as we have been so very particular in our account of the constitution of Jamaica, in all its branches, and the constitutions of the other British islands in the West Indies deviate so little from that of Jamaica, we shall refer our readers to our history of that island, for all necessary information on the present subject.

Barbadoes is provided with a complete arsenal, including a formidable train of artillery. Its military establishment consists of six regiments of militia, four squadrons of cavalry, and a troop called the horse-guards, from their attendance upon the Governor. In times of established peace, these forces are more formidable in name than in reality. In times of disturbance, however, they put on a different aspect. Prepared for assaults from every quarter, they are then kept constantly embodied; and, in a state of regular discipline, are generally prepared for the various events of war. The natural strength of the island has, without doubt, added considerably to its defence and protection. Fortified by nature, it has but few assailable parts; and in these, the inhabitants concentrate their forces, and almost bid defiance to attack. An expedition against it, to ensure success, must be both formidable and expensive; more so than the enemies of our country would, probably, risk in this quarter, upon the hazardous issues of enterprize. This also has contributed to its protection. The commotions of the civil world have not yet caused this island to change its masters; so that, what sunshine soever may have brightened, or clouds may have obscured, the horizon of the political world, Barbadoes has continued our own.

Of the population of this island, it is, perhaps, difficult to speak with any precision. Different authors, forming their estimates at different periods, naturally vary considerably in their accounts. Prosperity and adversity, to which the colony has been subject, have occasioned a fluctuation in proportion to their respective reigns. In 1670, it has been confidently asserted, the inhabitants of all complexions and conditions, amounted to no less than one hundred and fifty thousand. Raynal states the number, in 1676, at one

hundred thousand. The author of a short history of Barbadoes, published by Dodsley, in 1768, says, that so early as 1650, the island could muster twenty thousand white inhabitants; and, that in 1674, after it had sunk considerably from the summit of its highest glory, it contained no less than one hundred and twenty thousand souls. Guthrie's last edition of his geographical, historical, and commercial grammar, estimates the number of the inhabitants, in 1786, in the following manner: whites, sixteen thousand one hundred and sixty-seven; free people of color, eight hundred and thirty-three; negro slaves, sixty-two thousand one hundred and fifteen. In 1724, Mr. Edwards says, the white inhabitants amounted to eighteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five; and, that in 1753, the negroes were sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and seventy. In 1786, his account exactly concurs with that of Guthrie, as above stated; at which period, according to him, the whole number of souls, of every condition and color, could have been no more than seventy-nine thousand one hundred and twenty. In the year 1792, the negro slaves were reckoned, by Mr. Edwards, at sixty-five thousand and seventy-four. Of the number, however, of white inhabitants, and people of color, at this latter date, no accurate accounts are given. But, when the author visited Barbadoes in 1788, Mr. Parry, who was then Governor of the island, informed him, that the whites amounted to twenty-five thousand; and, that the blacks, and people of color, were not, he believed, more than seventy-five thousand. But, how diversified soever the accounts of the population of Barbadoes may be, an unanimity of opinion prevails, respecting the heavy burdens to which this eldest of our West India colonies has been long subjected. The various imposts to which the inhabitants have long since been obliged to submit, have operated as strong impediments to that prosperity which it once displayed; and which might be still expected, from the fertility of its soil, the industry of the inhabitants, and the demand for its commodities both in Great Britain and America.

In addition to the permanent impost of four and a half per cent. the property in Barbadoes is subjected to a variety of heavy burdens. On every negro a capitation tax is levied. Carriages, sugar-mills, and dwelling-houses, are compelled to pay a weighty sum. The articles which are imported, must submit to the same drawbacks; and every proprietor of land must contribute, in proportion to the number of acres which he holds. This tax amounts to two shillings per acre,

on all the landed property in the island; which sum is collected by assessments made on the respective parishes, in proportion to their extent. The public roads are repaired by the labors of the inhabitants, to which they are compelled to contribute by an act of the Assembly, subject to the direction of men who are armed with authority to see it duly executed. While these obstacles continue to operate in all their force, Barbadoes may look in vain for a return of those days which once raised her to the highest pitch of commercial glory.

Notwithstanding the natural calamities to which this island has been exposed, it has derived no pecuniary assistance from the mother-country. "To this island," says the author of the history published by Dodsley, "belongs a merit "peculiar to itself. It has not for threescore years past cost "one shilling of expense to Great Britain, except a few "pieces of cannon that were granted upon application many "years ago. What salaries are paid by the crown to its officers, "are all provided by the four and a half per cent. duty." Its annual consumption of British manufactures, under these circumstances, cannot but prove highly advantageous to the mother-country; and it is evident, that an increase of its advantages must tend to increase its population. Industry is the source of wealth. And that country which promotes it in its dependencies, must feel its benefits in its capital and centre. A removal of some of those heavy imposts to which industry is liable, would add to the wealth of the colonists, and, finally, lead them to such an increase of cultivation, as would amply repay, by the quantities of their productions, the partial sacrifices which might be made.

Barbadoes is the most windward of the Charaibee Islands, and, at present, the most considerable and important of the British possessions in that part of the Archipelago. It is situated in latitude 13° 20′ north; and between 58 and 59 of western longitude from London. It is about twenty-one miles in length; and fifteen in breadth, when measured in its broadest parts. In some places it is extremely narrow; its shape being vastly irregular, bearing some distant resemblance to a pear. It is computed to contain one hundred and six thousand four hundred and seventy acres of land, the greater part of which is still under some degree of cultivation.

The island is strongly protected by shoals against the invasion of a foreign enemy; being, for the most part, inaccessible to ships of war, from a want of water. And as no vessels exceeding the burden of fifty tons can approach

these parts, the force that such vessels could possibly bring, would, probably, be insufficient to produce those effects and consequences which ambition estimates among the spoils of war. It likewise derives an additional protection from an extensive reef of rocks, which runs from the south point eastwardly in a formidable direction. The more assailable parts of the coast, on which nature has not bestowed these dreadful advantages, the inhabitants, at a vast expense, have supplied with the contrivances of art. Both " nature " and art," says Raynal, " conspire to fortify this island. " Two-thirds of its circumference are rendered inaccessible " by dangerous rocks; and on the open sides, the inhabi- " tants have drawn lines, which are defended at proper dis- " tances by forts, provided with a formidable artillery. So " that, Barbadoes is still in a condition to command respect " in times of war, and to be courted by her neighbours in " times of peace." Thus secured, though it stands on the frontier of the Windward Islands, to encounter storms, it has hitherto escaped the calamities and horrors of war, which most of the other British settlements in these parts have suffered, from the many bloody contests that have taken place between Great Britain and France.

It has been already observed, in a former part of this account, that Barbadoes, when it was first discovered, was completely covered with trees. These, as the island became peopled, were occasionally cut down; and, finally, as the lands were brought into a state of cultivation, were almost totally destroyed. The destruction of the trees has considerably decreased the quantity of rains which formerly fell; but this decrease in moisture too frequently proves detrimental to the crops, and injurious to the planters. One advantage, however, has hereby been produced; the lands have been laid open, and the breezes circulate without obstruction; hence, the stagnant vapours have been dispersed and prevented from collecting; and by these means the air is no longer so pernicious to the health of the Europeans.

The soil, in itself naturally fertile, has been much reduced by injurious treatment, and exhausted by frequent culture. This, added to the uncertainty of the rains, and the weight of taxes, has reduced the value of lands much below the original standard. But, though the soil may be considered, in general, as exceedingly fertile, it varies considerably in different parts of the island, and not unfrequently on the same estate. Some spots present the planter with a mould that is nearly black; and other parts, with that of a lightish

red. Some parts afford nothing but a heavy unpromising clay; and this is, again, contrasted with a light and yielding sand. The low lands, in general, are wet and swampy, while those on the hills are gravelly and dry.

Of these different soils, the *black* is esteemed the most prolific. All of them will, however, with proper management, support the sugar-cane; but to produce any considerable crop, rich manure must, at present, be applied to all. The different species of soil require different kinds of manure; and in a happy selection and appropriation, the skill of the planter is displayed to the utmost advantage. *Varech*, a sea weed, which the waves throw upon the shore, is a manure that seems adapted to the various soils. This weed is collected by the slaves; and, when properly spread, forms a bed, in which the sugar-canes are planted; insomuch, that, to use the hyperbolical language of Raynal, "the earth has "little more to do with the growing of them, than the tubs "in which we plant orange trees in Europe," have to do with the nourishment of these trees.

The staple commodities of Barbadoes for exportation to Europe are, sugar, rum, cotton, and ginger. Of the three former articles an account will be given in our history of some of the other islands; and, therefore, a detail in this place is wholly unnecessary. But of ginger, a short description cannot be uninteresting. Of the various spices which these islands produce, this has been justly esteemed as the most wholesome; and as it is frequently used in medicine, as well as for culinary purposes, it constitutes a valuable article of commerce.

As this plant will not thrive naturally in a cold climate, we are indebted to the tropical regions for the perfection which it has attained. When growing, it bears a strong resemblance to the rose bush, both in its leaves and the appearance of the stalk; but it seldom grows higher than two feet. While young, the leaves are of a lively green color, but they acquire a yellowish hue as the plant ripens, and become quite dry when the root has attained its proper state of maturity. The roots are flat, and of an irregular shape, being somewhat like the feet of a goose; hence, they are more frequently called by the inhabitants, *ginger feet*, than *ginger roots*. Growing near the surface of the earth, they are easily taken up; and no other process but to cleanse, prune, and dry them, is necessary to render them fit for use. In size, these roots are very irregular, being sometimes small, and sometimes as large as the palm of the human hand, and

not less than an inch in thickness. But these extraordinary roots are not of a superior quality. To rear this plant to perfection, a rich soil is necessary. This it finds in Barbadoes,—in that part of the island which lies in the vicinity of the great river *Babesterre,* where it thrives in a surprizing manner. In this prolific spot, it is usually planted towards the end of the rainy season; namely, in October and November. The ground, thus moistened, must be well hoed; when small slips of the last year's growth are planted in holes, at equal distances, of about one foot, and at the depth of about three inches. In the course of seven or eight days the buds begin to appear; and in a few days more, the tender leaves begin to unfold themselves to the sun. By the expansion of these leaves, the ground is shaded beneath, through which the infant root begins to spread; and by that mean, the moisture which the late rains had deposited in the earth, and which is so necessary to ripen the ginger to perfection, is prevented from exhaling. In the mean while, the ground must be kept free from weeds, that nothing may share the nutrition. The state of the leaves discovers the state of the plant, and points out the period when it is fit to be gathered. Though not equal in value to the sugar-cane, a good crop is far from being unproductive of profit. Much, however, depends upon the season and the soil. When these are favorable, success is sure to reward exertion. But, as this spice is so well known in every family in England, a more minute description seems wholly unnecessary.

In the island of Barbadoes there are four towns; namely, *Bridge-town,* the capital, *Ostin-town, St. James's,* and *Speights.* Bridge-town, since its almost unexampled calamities, has been again rebuilt, and promises to regain much of its ancient splendor, unless a repetition of its former calamities should once more reduce it to ashes or a heap of rubbish. In the parish of St. John, about twelve miles from the metropolis of the island, is a college endowed with a very large estate, of the annual value of three thousand pounds sterling. This was the gift of Mr. Codrington, whose aim in establishing this noble institution was, to provide for the education of youth. A proper application of the bounteous donation of this "*man of Ross,*" might be rendered of essential service to those generations which succeed each other, and might diffuse a blessing through the island at large.

Of extensive rivers, the island has not much occasion to boast; but then it must be remembered, that of a want of

water it has not any occasion to complain. Two streams, which are denominated rivers, regularly flow in the island, one in the south-west, and the other in the east. " In the " centre," says the account published by Dodsley, " are " several bituminous springs, some of which furnish the " green tar, of great use in many distempers; it also, often " supplies the want of pitch and lamp oil." In addition to those rivers which flow through certain districts, Barbadoes may be said to abound with water of a most excellent quality; but to obtain it, the earth must be penetrated beneath its surface. In various parts, the wells, which are sunk at a moderate depth, afford an inexhaustible supply. To these, the inhabitants have added several capacious reservoirs, in which they collect and preserve the rain that descends from the clouds: this they find admirably adapted to domestic purposes.

Of the staple commodities which constitute the exports of Barbadoes, we have already spoken; but among those articles which are imported from the mother-country, the author of the account last quoted enumerates no less than eighty-six, which he distinctly mentions. Among these are, linen and woollen articles, Manchester goods, silk, iron, brass, shoes, and various leather manufactures; glass, earthenware, plate, watches, pulse, gunpowder, cordage, toys, stationery, cutlery, carriages, and household furniture.

Barbadoes, being the most windward island of the West Indies, and having been settled at an early period, became a place of general resort to those African traders, " *who* " *buy the muscles and the bones of man.*" This, therefore, became a considerable article of traffic, and a particular source of wealth. " All, or almost all, the ships," says Raynal, " laden with slaves, from the coast of Africa, land " there. If they cannot get a good price for their negroes, " they go, sometimes, elsewhere; but it seldom happens " that they do not dispose of them at Barbadoes. The usual " price of a slave is about thirty-seven pounds, on an average, " according to the nation or tribe to which he belongs. In " this bargain, no distinction is ever made of age or sex; but " they all sell together at so much per head. The payments " are made in bills of exchange, upon London, at ninety days " sight.*

* After the period above alluded to, the whole system of traffic underwent considerable changes; and many regulations were made in favor of

" These negroes, whom the merchants have bought by " wholesale, are retailed on this very island, or in some other " of the English islands. The refuse is smuggled into the " Spanish or French colonies. By this traffic, about two hun- " dred and forty thousand five hundred pounds, on an average, " were formerly circulated in Barbadoes. The specie that is " still to be found there, is all foreign; it is looked upon as " a commodity, and is only taken by the weight." (Vol. V. page 16.)

In the room of those almost impenetrable forests which once covered the island, districts, covered with cane and cotton plantations, and other useful vegetables, have been taught to smile. Verdure and beauty, by these means, enliven every part; so that the blended delights of spring, summer, and autumn, never forsake the island. The elegancies and conveniencies of life, raised by the joint co-operations of bountiful nature and industrious art, under the providence and blessing of God, give to existence a cheerful aspect in many regions; but Barbadoes will admit of very few competitors, in these respects, to share its honors.

So happy is the climate of this island, that its fruits, which are both plentiful and various, are never out of season. The disappearance of one species, is happily compensated by the succession of another; which, instead of introducing any inconveniency, exhibits a pleasing and grateful interchange of variety and plenty. This, in all probability, contributes to that health for which the island is so remarkable; and leads, in part, to that longevity in human life, of which few other European possessions in these regions can furnish any similar examples.

With cattle, game, and fish, the markets of Barbadoes are abundantly supplied, so as to reach the demands of the inhabitants. The prices vary, as local circumstances dictate, either the necessity or the opportunity; but, in general, they are by no means unreasonable.

The warmth of the climate is agreeably counteracted by the cooling sea breeze, which introduces a happy medium. The thermometer seldom rises higher than 88°, and is rarely

the unfortunate slave. The price also of the slaves was very considerably raised. But, above all, the abolition of the slave-trade, by the glorious friends of genuine liberty in the mother-country, will gradually ameliorate the condition of the negroes; so that every planter, we trust, will see it his interest to treat them with mercy.

lower than 72°; and, notwithstanding the heat which such a state must occasion, epidemical diseases but seldom commit any considerable ravages in the island. To the dreadful effects of hurricanes, we have already observed, that Barbadoes is particularly exposed; but to counterbalance these calamities, it has providentially been exempted from that fatal disease, the yellow fever, with which Grenada, Jamaica, and some of the other islands, have been so severely afflicted.

But what advantages soever the island may afford as conducive to health, regularity and temperance are essentially necessary to its full preservation. Without these, the human constitution becomes debilitated, and unable to withstand the shocks to which it must otherwise be inevitably exposed. Intemperance, in every region, is the bane of health. Indiscretion and excess conduct their victims to languor and disease; and these are but the harbingers of approaching death.

With those necessary precautions, which the value of life, and the importance of health, direct us to exercise, the climate of Barbadoes, instead of being uncongenial to the human constitution, has been known, in many cases, to have renewed in health and vigor those which had been decayed. There have been instances, in which some, who, from a want of health, had been forbidden to remain in England, have found relief, and a perfect restoration, in this salubrious climate.

"There were living," says the author of the account published by Dodsley, "a few years ago, in this island, "within six miles of each other, five men, whose ages "together exceeded four hundred years. And there lately "died on this island, at the advanced age of *one hundred* "*and ten years*, a Mrs. Vaughan, a gentlewoman who had "always resided upon the island. She had eight brothers "and one sister, who all lived to see the youngest upwards "of sixty years old;—the longevity of its inhabitants proves "the healthfulness of a country."

Unhappily, however, too many European strangers, first coming into these regions, forget those precautions, of which they all admit the propriety. In these cases, their theory and practice are at variance with each other; so that they proceed to ruin, even against the dictates of their better judgments. Entering into a region that incites to voluptuousness,—"a garden, tempting with forbidden

" fruit," the appearance of that perennial beauty with which they feel themselves encircled intoxicates with a strange enchantment. The senses become too powerful for the understanding, and usurp that dominion which conducts to the grave. The resolution which had been previously formed melts before the rays of a tropical sun, and insensibly gives place to that dissipation which seduces under the visor of disguise.

CHAP. XIX.

HISTORY OF BARBADOES.

(Concluded).

Regular History of the Mission.—Promising beginning.—Violent Persecution in 1789.—*More favorable appearance in* 1790.—*Persecution revives.—Missionaries obtain Redress.—Indifferent Success in* 1791, 1792, *and* 1793.—*Death of Mr. Pearce, a Missionary.—Society reduced.—An Increase in* 1795.—*Contempt poured on the Gospel in* 1796.—*Congregations decrease in* 1797.—*Island left without a Missionary in* 1798.—*Societies nearly dispersed in* 1799.—*In a deplorable State in* 1800.—*Prospect brightens in* 1801.—*State of Religion in* 1802.—*Partial revival in* 1803.—*Work further revives in* 1805.—*Pleasing Prospect in* 1806.—*State of the Societies, and of Religion, in the Island in* 1807.

WHILE the natural propensities of the human heart, which we have surveyed in the preceding chapter, act in concert with the temptations of the world, what can be expected, but a ready submission to their dictates? Some power, which, by nature, resides not in man, becomes necessary to establish a barrier, and to preserve him from falling an easy prey to those desires, which ask for indulgence, amidst the means of gratification. This power, the Author of our being has wisely provided for our assistance; and offers it to us, through that gospel, which is at once both neglected and despised. To diffuse its sacred light through the benighted corners of the world, is at once the privilege and the duty of those who love and fear God. Through the medium of various instruments, he has caused his light to shine in these regions, and in a particular manner has given repeated invitations to the inhabitants of Barbadoes.

In this island, the Moravian brethren have a mission; of which, we shall give a short account from their own journals and letters.

"By letters," the publishers say, "from that island, "dated May 31, 1790, we learn, that the Missionaries

" were well and active; and they express good hopes con-
" cerning their mission; though it has not, hitherto, been
" so flourishing as in other parts. The negro congregation
" consists of forty persons baptized.

" On Sundays they have always a numerous auditory of
" white and black people, which will soon oblige them to
" enlarge their church. On Good Friday, and Easter, they
" had about one hundred and fifty attentive hearers, most
" of whom stood without, for want of room. Brother Fritz
" arrived there on the 20th of February, from North Ame-
" rica, to supply the vacancy occasioned by brother Mont-
" gomery's call to Tobago."

The opinion of Mr. Montgomery, relative to this mission, at the time of his departure to Tobago, is stated in the following words:

" Before I conclude, I will just mention a word or two,
" concerning the mission of Barbadoes. I firmly believe,
" that our Lord will yet see of the travail of his soul in that
" island. This was the first impression I had, when I en-
" tered upon the labor there; and amidst all my trials it
" never forsook me. The letters received from Europe
" comforted me greatly, as they expressed the same confi-
" dent hopes concerning the mission. I wondered fre-
" quently at your patience, in supporting so expensive a
" mission, without much visible fruit arising from our labors.
" Now the time of visitation appears to me to be at hand,
" and I think I have lived to see the beginning. Ever since
" Christmas we could no more preach within doors, the
" number of our constant hearers having so increased.
" Several of our baptized negroes have begun to tell others
" what the Lord had done for their souls. Several of these
" have brought their relations and friends to the meeting;
" and two of those, who were thus in a manner com-
" pelled to come, have been baptized; and one of them
" was admitted to the Lord's Supper before we left the
" island."

On the state of religion in 1791, their resident minister, or Missionary, speaks in the following manner:

" As to the work of God, in this island, its progress is
" but slow at present; yet we find cause to thank him, for
" the blessed effects of the preaching of the gospel in the
" hearts of some. The power of darkness is, indeed, in
" general, great; but we live and labor in hopes, and in
" reliance on our Almighty Saviour. The number of bap-
" tized negroes under our care consists at present of forty-

" four adults, and three children; and we recommend our-
" selves to your prayers and continued remembrance before
" the Lord."

In 1792, they make the following observations on the progress and state of their mission in this island:

" Their chapel," they say, " was well filled with negroes
" every Sunday. Thirteen adults had been baptized, and
" ten had been added to the number of their communicants
" in the preceding year." Such are their observations; and with this concise statement, their memorial, for that period, closes.

In their next account, their reports are much of a similar nature. They state, that the progress of religion was not so evident in Barbadoes, as in some other islands, though the causes they presume not to develope. But, though ready to inquire, " Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" they acknowledge, that they had cause to praise him, for what he had already done in that island likewise, during the year that was past. " Seven-
" teen adults and four children," they remark, " were added
" to their number;" so that on the whole, as they have given no statement of any diminution, either by apostasy or death, we are directed to conclude, that a gradual though but a small increase had taken place.

The great Head of the church, having all power at his command, can send by whomsoever he pleases, and make what instruments soever he sees meet, subservient to his compassionate purposes. When souls are converted to God, the great end of missionary establishments is fully answered, what mediums soever he selects to promote his divine will. All these instruments, without doubt, unite, through his wisdom, in one harmonious design. The effects which result from their joint endeavors, will add to the universal congregation of the faithful, and, finally, swell that immense multitude which no man can number.

But what are those few, to whom the labors of the Moravian Missionaries have been blessed, when compared with the many thousands of negroes in Barbadoes? The general mass were ignorant of God, and seeking death in the error of their ways. Their state of spiritual darkness was such, as to leave no room for two opinions on their condition. It was this that became an inducement to our Missionary Society, to use their endeavors to promote the conversion of these heathens; to exercise the means which lay in their power, and to leave the event to God.

It was towards the close of October, 1788, that the writer of these papers, in company with *Mr. Pearce, Mr. Gamble,* and *Mr. Lumb,* three Missionaries, sailed from Great Britain, on a third visit to the West Indies, on board of the ship *Hankey,* commanded by *Captain Sundius.* A common voyage across the Atlantic can contain nothing remarkable; and the novelty of winds and waves, and fishes and birds, has long since ceased to charm. It will be sufficient to observe on this occasion, that the voyage was favorable; and, that after a passage of five weeks and four days, they landed safely in Barbadoes on the 4th of December.

It is, nevertheless, a tribute of respect which is due to *Captain Sundius,* to observe, that the accommodations were, in every respect, excellent; and, that he left nothing unprovided, which he thought would be either necessary or commodious for his Missionary friends. His behavior was a counter-part of his previous conduct; affection and generosity never forsook his character during the voyage. The author records his politeness from a sensibility of obligation, and feels pleasure in expressing gratitude for his kindness. He shall now give to his readers the substance of his journals, in respect to the present voyage, and visit to Barbadoes.

Captain Sundius, being a man who sincerely feared God, felt no hesitation in permitting us to sing and pray, as often as we thought proper; and omitted no opportunity of joining us in our devotions, whenever the care of the ship would grant him permission. To preach the words of eternal life to the sailors we felt as an indispensable duty, whenever we found a favorable occasion. The first time I preached in this ship, on those words of our Lord—*Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God,* we had the happiness to observe, that the whole ship's company seemed to be deeply affected. Their impressions continued beyond the impulse of the moment; and we hope, that our subsequent labors among them deepened the work which we had reason to believe was begun. Finding them inclined to read, we distributed among them several pamphlets, which they perused with peculiar eagerness; and we had the happiness to observe, that, instead of singing those licentious compositions which sounded from their lips at the commencement of the voyage, they delighted in associating together to peruse our books. On our arrival at Barbadoes, when we were about to take our leave, the silent tear trickled down the cheeks of many,

while they pressed our hands with marks of affectionate regret; and, finally, when our boat dropped astern, they bade us farewell, with three as hearty cheers, as probably were ever given by a company of sailors.

On reaching the shore, we found ourselves in a region inhabited by strangers; for none of our company imagined that he knew one soul upon the island. We immediately repaired to an inn, in which we took some refreshment, and easily learned, from the nature of the charges, that our expenses, arising from this mode of life, would be really enormous. I, therefore, seized a favorable moment which then offered, of sending *Messrs. Lumb* and *Gamble* to our friends in *St. Vincent's*, on board of a merchant-ship, which sailed that same evening. In that island I purposed to meet them again, as soon as the business of Barbadoes should be dispatched.

It was just at this instant, that Mr. Pearce, who now remained with me, observed, that he understood that a company of soldiers was then in the island, who had sometime before been quartered at Kingsale, in Ireland; among these, he had heard, were several serious people. Elated with this recollection, at my request he went in search of them, and in the space of about two hours returned with one of the privates. Soon afterwards we were joined by a sergeant, who, on seeing Mr. Pearce, recollected him in an instant, and, transported with the thought of meeting him in this distant region, without ceremony, clasped him in his arms in the most affectionate manner.

From these pious men we learned, that since they had been stationed in Barbadoes, the love of Christ had so constrained them, that they had borne a public testimony for God. This, as it was natural to expect, had excited much curiosity. Many had come to hear, among whom was a *Mr. Button*, a merchant, of Bridge-town; who was so far pleased with their conduct, that he had provided for them a large room, which had formerly been used as a warehouse. In this room, they afterwards regularly met; and exhorted those who heard, to flee from the wrath to come.

Delighted with this pleasing information, we immediately determined to seek this gentleman, and pay him a visit, the following morning. In this design we were, however, anticipated by his kindness. He had been informed of our arrival by some of the soldiers, and, instantly, sent us an

invitation to breakfast with him. On entering his house, to my utter astonishment I found, that to Mr. Button I was personally known, though of his name and features I had not the most distant recollection. In the course of our conversation, I learned that he had, frequently, heard me preach at Baltimore, in Maryland; and, that when he resided on the continent, four of his black servants had been baptized by me. Among these servants, one was a woman, who was still with him; she had experienced the power of converting grace, and was still alive to God. He would no longer permit us to take up our residence at the inn; his lady, who was a native of the island, accompanied her husband in his solicitation. His heart, his all, seemed to be at our service; and, indeed, during the whole of our abode, we found an asylum with this benevolent friend.

Soon after breakfast, I waited, in company with Mr. Pearce, upon the Governor, to whom we paid our joint respects. We found him quite accessible, and were received by him with great politeness. In the evening I preached at Mr. Button's, in the room which he had appropriated to the purposes of divine worship, to a large congregation. About three hundred were enabled to hear with attention; but nearly twice that number were obliged to retire for want of room. On the ensuing evening, the congregation was equally numerous; a deep attention was manifested by all those who heard, while I attempted to explain, how the Comforter convinces *of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment*.

Early the next morning, I rode into the country, to visit a gentleman, (Henry Trotman, Esq.) to whom my kind friend, Mr. Dornford, of London, had procured me a letter of recommendation, in order to open a way for Mr. Pearce into the country. Providentially, there were two gentlemen of the same christian and surname in the island, and I was directed to the house of the gentleman for whom the letter was not intended. This strange mistake naturally led to a developement of our designs. He received me with the utmost politeness; and after I had breakfasted and dined with him, and laid before him our plan of Missionary operations, he informed me, that his house should be always open to my friend, Mr. Pearce; and his slaves, who were about two hundred in number, should be always assembled, at all proper hours, to receive instructions. This little excursion took place on Saturday; in the evening of which,

I returned again to Bridge-town, highly satisfied, notwithstanding the mistake, with having found an unexpected friend.

On the Sunday morning, Mr. Pearce preached in Mr. Button's warehouse, at seven o'clock; after which, we breakfasted, by invitation, with the worthy curate of the parish, who received us with politeness, and treated us with civility. Confident that the room in which we had hitherto preached, would not contain the numbers who wished to attend, we were ruminating on the embarrassment, without being able to apply any remedy, when one unexpectedly offered. In the afternoon I received a note from the master of a free school that had been established in the island; in which, he voluntarily offered the use of his school-room for the duties of the evening. We accepted the generous offer; and, as it was commodious, a large and attentive congregation assembled.

In the evening, after our service was concluded, we were visited by a Mr. Errington, one of the magistrates and post-master-general of the island, who continued with us for some time, and supped with us. Between thirty and forty years ago, he had frequently heard Mr. Wesley, and his brother, preach in the Methodist chapel in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. And, though so many years had elapsed since that period, to which our preaching recalled his thoughts, he expressed the greatest satisfaction and approbation of our designs. In addition to this, he warmly invited Mr. Pearce to visit him frequently; observing at the same time, that he should be happy to yield us any service that lay in his power.

On the Monday morning following, I visited the other Mr. Trotman, whom I had sought in vain on the preceding Saturday. To him I now delivered my letter of recommendation, apologizing, at the same time, for the involuntary mistake, which had procured me the happiness of an introduction to a gentleman of the same name, who had given his sanction to our projected labors. Mr. Trotman I found to be a plain country gentleman, living somewhat retired from the tumults of commerce, and devoid of those gross prejudices which but too frequently enslave mankind. He had, at that time, about two hundred and fifty slaves on his plantations, who stood much in need of that instruction which we intended to impart. In the course of our conversation after dinner, he informed me, that he would take the earliest opportunity of waiting upon Mr. Pearce; and that

he should be happy in having his slaves instructed by him in the principles of christianity.

Having thus finished the business which had called us to this island, I took a passage in a vessel bound for St. Vincent's, in which I expected to sail the same evening. In consequence of this intended departure, I desired Mr. Pearce to preach; as the violent heat and perspiration into which preaching throws all in this warm climate, would have rendered it hazardous for me to have afterwards gone on the water. Mr. Pearce now began to enter upon his ministerial labors; and I had the pleasure to hear that he gave universal satisfaction to a large and attentive congregation.

I must not omit another little circumstance which tended also to promote our general design. At the house of *Mr. Button*, there were three ladies on a visit. These had a plantation in the country, and many negroes on it. During their stay at *Bridge-town*, they attended our preaching, and gave us reason to hope that they had received some divine impressions. Their house was also to be opened to Mr. Pearce, whenever he could find an opportunity to visit their plantation; so that, on the whole, a sufficiency of employment seemed in an instant provided for him. In the pious soldiers, he found the promises of all that assistance which they were able to render; they were willing to place themselves immediately under his direction; and they engaged to hold prayer-meetings, in different parts of the town, three or four times a week.

Thus, by a series of remarkable providences, a wide door appeared to be opened for us in Barbadoes; an island which is most favorably circumstanced for the preaching of the word. In length and breadth it is not very extensive; but it is thickly peopled with human beings, thousands of whom are still ignorant of God. Many of these, however, were well disposed towards that gospel which we came to preach. They seemed willing to be brought to a due sense of their sinful condition by nature, and to a full conviction of the only means of salvation, by exercising a lively faith on the merits of their blessed Redeemer. The island being divided into many small farms or plantations, which had no immediate connexion with one another, circumscribed the views of their proprietors. By these means there were thousands, even among the white inhabitants, whose incomes were small; and many among them were very poor. These, therefore, could not indulge themselves in all those extremes of sensuality which, unfortunately, mark

the conduct of too many in these luxuriant regions of the globe. Thus even comparative poverty, contributed to give a fairer prospect of a plentiful harvest to the preachers of the gospel of Jesus, than could have been expected among men who place their hopes of happiness on those riches which make themselves wings and flee away.

It was towards the close of the year 1790, that I sailed from Falmouth, in company with Mr. Lyons and Mr. Werrill, two Missionaries; and after a voyage of five weeks and two days, landed on the 22d of November, a second time on the Island of Barbadoes. The pleasing prospect which Bridge-town and the plantations around it afforded, together with the ships, the harbor, and the activity of the inhabitants, exhibited one of the most beautiful scenes of the kind that any part of the West Indies can boast. The whole was felt by us on our arrival in all its force; and on the minds of my associates, who were strangers to such views, left a most astonishing effect.

In this place, though our prospects of being serviceable to the inhabitants were not blasted, they were evidently shaded with an unpleasant gloom. Our friends, it is true, still remained sincere, nor had their numbers, in reality, diminished; but we found many enemies who were before unknown. Mr. Pearce, our Missionary in the island, had undergone much persecution during the two preceding years, and was for a considerable time without redress. At length, however, it pleased God to incline the heart of one of the magistrates to do him justice. This gentleman espoused his cause, defended him with spirit, and soon reduced all to peace. It is remarkable, that on the Methodists in this island, the inhabitants had fixed the extraordinary name of "*Hallelujah*." Even the little negroes had learned the appellation, and would call them by that name as they passed through the streets.

On the morning after our arrival, I waited upon Governor Parry, who received me with great courtesy, and appeared from his amiable manner to have been far from countenancing that disturbance which Mr. Pearce had sustained. While in this island, I preached three times in Bridge-town, but met with no interruption. On the contrary, the congregations were attentive, and on the last evening particularly large. The preaching-house, which had been erected notwithstanding the persecution, I found airy and in every respect commodious, and capable of containing about seven hundred persons. Indeed, the foundation of a considerable

work, I was persuaded, had been begun, though the number in society was but small. I had no time to visit the country; but, taking leave of our affectionate friends, sailed from the island on the 23d.

It was not till early in the year 1793, that I had another opportunity of visiting Barbadoes. To what extent the word that had been sown during the intermediate years, had been blessed to the inhabitants at large, it is impossible to say; but very few had joined our society. At our Conference, held in the beginning of February in Antigua, it appeared, that only fifty-one had given us their names as an acknowledgment that they were members. Of this number thirty-four were whites, seven were colored people, and the rest were blacks.

It was on the 26th of February, in company with Mr. Graham, and Mr. Pearce and his family, that I landed a third time at Bridge-town in Barbadoes. We immediately repaired to the house of our old friend Mr. Button, who received us with the warmth of friendship and the freedom of hospitality. I did not remain long in the town on my arrival; but after waiting upon the Governor, and preaching twice, sat off to visit our friends in the country.

I had received intelligence on my arrival, that a *Mr. Henry*, a gentleman of much respectability, residing in the country, had, during my absence, made frequent inquiries after me, particularly concerning my person, the spelling of my name, with a variety of other minutiæ; adding on the information he received, "*He certainly is my old friend "Coke, with whom I was so intimate at Oxford.*" To this gentleman, I made one of my first visits. As soon as we came in sight of each other, a mutual recognition immediately took place; and we embraced with that warmth of affection which juvenile friendships, suddenly revived, can, in general, alone inspire. In his company I spent a considerable part of two days, recounting old adventures, and reviving half-forgotten facts, with which I endeavored to interweave some useful observations. To his house and plantation the Missionaries had already had access; they wanted, therefore, no introduction. A revival, however, of an acquaintance with one who had loved him long and well, might rivet that attachment which he felt towards those Missionaries who labored to convert his slaves.

From the house of *Mr. Henry*, I proceeded to that of a *Mr. Harding*, who had an estate of his own, and acted also as the manager of another large plantation. This gentle-

man, our Missionaries had long found to be our friend indeed. Both he and his family were truly actuated by the fear of God; and we had reason to believe, that some good had been done among his negroes by the preaching of Mr. Lumb, our Missionary, who had lately resided in the island. Perhaps the Island of Barbadoes could produce but few families equal, in point of excellency, to this of *Mr. Harding*. But it was not to his family alone that the benefits of Mr. Lumb's preaching were exclusively confined. Another white family, about a mile from the house of Mr. Harding, had received much profit by his ministry, and evidenced by their conduct, that some divine impressions had been made upon their minds. To several other gentlemen I also paid some transient visits; and, after preaching on several estates in different parts of the island, and noting those places which appeared to have the greatest claim upon our attention, returned to Bridge-town.

The little society in this town, however small, appeared more devoted to God, in proportion to its numbers, than any other in any of the Windward Islands. For this, under the influence of divine grace, much was due to the pious labors of Mr. Pearce. Indeed, the same tribute of acknowledgment is due to the exertions of Mr. Lumb and his colleague. Both were indefatigable in their labors; and they were blessed with a degree of piety in their spiritual children, which in some measure compensated for that deficiency in numbers, which the ardency of our souls exceedingly lamented.

The negroes of Barbadoes, for reasons which are concealed, appeared, in general, less prepared for the reception of genuine religion, than those of any other island in the West Indies. But prayer and perseverance have surmounted obstacles which baffled all human calculation; and this circumstance becomes a ground-work on which we rest our future faith. Even then we felt a confidence that the day would soon arrive, when God would give us access to their hearts and understandings, that we might not adopt the prophetic lamentation, and say, *all day long have we stretched forth our hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people.*

In this island, notwithstanding the society was comparatively small, it had pleased God to raise up two local preachers. Of these, one, who was engaged in the fishery, was brother-in-law to Mr. Pearce; the other belonged to the artillery. The former was eminent for piety, and stands among the

first of those with whom I have had any acquaintance. His abilities were such as to entitle him to respect; and I had reason to hope that he would soon consider it as his duty to give himself wholly to the ministry.

In external aspect Barbadoes bears the strongest resemblance to England, of any island that I remember to have seen. The inland part has much of the appearance of the finest lands in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The numerous houses which are scattered about in an irregular manner, are mostly white-washed; which, together with the hills that rise at a distance, present to the spectator a diversified scene, picturesque and pleasing, though destitute of romantic grandeur. Among those few who truly fear God, there is a trait of character to be perceived, which, as well as the appearance of the country, tends to mark the similarity between Barbadoes and our native land. The same spirit of unaffected piety is equally visible, and, therefore, equally an object of admiration. Of this description I found a Mrs. Shoreland, an aged widow-lady, and her son, at whose house I preached in my tour through the island. They seemed to breathe the spirit of the English Methodists; they were kind without ostentation, and made me feel perfectly at home.

I continued in Barbadoes, during this visit, from the 26th of February until the 4th of March, on which day I set sail on board the Cumberland packet for Jamaica; and have had no opportunity of revisiting this island from that period to the present hour. For our further information, we must apply to those accounts with which the Missionaries have supplied us, of the spread of the gospel, the progress of vital christianity, and the conversion of souls to Jesus Christ.

The adoption of this method becomes necessary, in order to recount those various occurrences which took place during the intervals of the author's absence. And he has chosen this plan, that the regular narrative might not be interrupted by those personal observations which he had an opportunity of making while on the island, and which have been stated in the preceding paragraphs. Our accounts are, therefore, now carried backward to the commencement of the mission, and traced in a series of regular detail, through the various vicissitudes which have taken place from that time to the present period.

It frequently happens, in the mazes of the present world, that the most alluring prospects prove deceitful; they glitter for a moment to excite our attention, and then evaporate to

mock our hopes. It is thus they instruct us, by painful experience, that no stability is to be found beneath the throne of God. Domestic life affords us but too many instances of this truth; and an enlarged acquaintance with the world, is sufficient to convince us, that disappointment is the growth of every clime. This theory we shall find illustrated by an appeal to fact, in tracing the Missionary history of Barbadoes.

Mr. Pearce, who accompanied the author to this island in his first voyage thither, in the year 1788, the reader will recollect, was left behind to pursue those openings which Providence seemed to have made; and to endeavor, by speaking the truth as it is in Jesus, to recal sinners from seeking death in the error of their ways. He, accordingly, began, by forming a class of nine members in Bridge-town, who had manifested a sincere desire to flee from the wrath to come. From preaching in the town, he proceeded to the country; and so far found access to the people on the plantations, that four nights out of seven were fully engrossed among them; while the other three were employed in the town, in cherishing the infant society that had been already formed, and in soliciting others to forsake their sins. During two months that were thus employed, he continued to exercise unwearied diligence. The congregations increased, both in town and country; but so much so in the former, that the house in which he preached, became insufficient to contain the people who attended. To provide for their accommodation, Mr. Pearce was induced to seek for one more extensive; but this could not, by any means, be procured. Induced, therefore, by the flattering prospect on the one hand, and urged by necessity on the other, he set on foot a subscription; procured a piece of land, and began to build a preaching-house, without any other resources besides those which Providence should supply.

At this time, a considerable degree of poverty prevailed throughout the island, in consequence of the failure of the crop. This gave to the subscription no small degree of languor. Several tradesmen, however, who could not conveniently part with money, promised to contribute labor; so that, on the whole, notwithstanding the prevailing poverty, and more prevailing wickedness, the prospect of a favorable issue to this arduous undertaking, urged them to proceed with all the confidence of hope. In the mean while, the enemies of righteousness exerted themselves to oppose the progress of the work, by vilifying the character of Mr.

Pearce. They threatened, through the medium of the newspapers, to wreak their vengeance on the "*impudent mad-*" *man,*" unless he desisted from building a chapel, which was now become a perfect nuisance in their unholy sight. In the midst of these threatenings and abuses, the congregations rather increased than diminished. More were added to the society; the members of which appeared to grow in grace, and to live in harmony, in proportion to the augmentation of those dangers to which they found themselves exposed. "The congregations," observes Mr. Pearce, "are larger "than ever; and such crowds fill the room, and flock about "the door where I preach, as I never had before. It is "truly glorious. Many of the first people in the town "come to hear, and seem to listen with much attention. "Judging from appearances, we have reason to believe, that "a thousand hearers would attend on a Sunday evening, if "the room in which we preach were sufficiently large to "afford them accommodations."

But while the word of God seemed thus to prevail among all ranks of people, the opposition, which had hitherto been confined to distant invectives, took a nearer stand, and broke out in violent interruptions. Some of the leaders of the mob were brought to justice; they were feelingly convinced of their error, and, for a short season, peace ensued. In the month of March 1789, the society in the town consisted of fifty members; of these, sixteen were whites, and the rest people of color. Two classes were at this time also formed in the country; one consisted of eighteen members, and the other of fifteen: so that, on the whole, in the short space of three months, upwards of fourscore persons were inquiring the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward. From what motive others were solicitous to join the society, it is hard to say; but Mr. Pearce observes, that "he was "obliged to be very careful in admitting members; other-"wise, he should soon have hundreds of improper persons." Among those who were admitted, the greatest part were ornaments to their profession; and expressed themselves clearly in their knowledge of divine things, and in their advances in the christian life.

To prevent, if possible, the completion of the chapel, much opposition was made to its progress. Some of those who had attended the preaching, and seemed in earnest for the salvation of their souls, suffered themselves to be influenced by the prejudices of others, and soon grew indifferent; and others were prevailed upon to withhold their

subscriptions. With some, the failure of their crops was assigned as the cause of their dereliction; and in several instances, their observations were founded on fact. The building, nevertheless, went on; and before the month of July it was covered in. Its dimensions were sufficiently large to contain six or seven hundred persons; but the causes which have been mentioned occasioned a debt, that afterwards created some embarrassments. It was opened on the 16th of August; a large congregation attended; and every thing seemed to bid fair for the permanency of the gospel in Barbadoes.

But, in proportion as the work of God appeared to gain stability, persecution reared its head, and put on a most formidable aspect. "My enemies," says Mr. Pearce, "are many, and some of them men of power; so that a very large party is formed against me, both in the town and in the country." Some of these had breathed out bloody threatenings against his person, and expressed their designs to demolish the chapel. Occasionally, they came to the preaching, with intentions to use personal violence; but were restrained by that power, which "watches every num-" bered hair, and all our steps attends." To prevent the slaves from receiving instruction, a report was industriously circulated, injurious to our reputation, as though, under the sanction of religion, our intentions were, to inculcate notions inimical to their conditions, and the interests of their masters. Surmises of this nature could not but inflame those, who, destitute of the power of grace, had before viewed our progress with indifference, or even with partial approbation. Many, therefore, of the slaves, who had been in the society, were compelled, by their masters, to abandon us, and enter once more into the practice of those vices, from which they had but lately escaped.—It will be needless to expatiate on the morals of these men, who could so far invert the order of things, as to represent vice as less criminal than religion.

Nor were they satisfied with forbidding the slaves, whom they claimed as their property, from attending. An associated mob united their powers, to interrupt those on whom they had no claim; as though it were an act of virtue to banish religion from the island. As a specimen of their proceedings, we select the following passage from one of Mr. Pearce's letters. "On the evening of Sunday the 20th of September, I began divine service at six o'clock; but soon discovered, that a large mob had assembled among the congregation, with an apparent determination to

prevent my preaching. I, nevertheless, continued for some time, till the noise which they made became so intolerable, that I was compelled to desist. All was confusion and disorder. With much difficulty we got them out of the chapel. They then formed themselves into a large mob near the door, which they pelted with stones, uttering, at the same time, the most horrid imprecations; neither did they disperse, until they were driven from the spot by the same weapons, from some unknown hand.

"On Wednesday, the 23d, I began preaching again, at half past six o'clock; and, notwithstanding the uproar which had taken place on the preceding Sunday, the congregation was the largest I had seen, since I began to preach in Barbadoes. Scarcely had I begun, before I discovered about a hundred of the same gang that had so disturbed us on the Sunday evening. To avoid all occasion of offence, I carefully omitted dropping any expression which might furnish them with a pretence for giving us any annoyance. They behaved, during the time of preaching, with more moderation than their appearance gave us reason to expect. Scarcely, however, had I finished, before they appeared in their proper colors. Their language seemed to outrival that of the infernal regions. They stamped, they whistled, they roared, more like fiends than human beings. From the inside of the chapel they repaired to the outside of the door, at which place they took their stand, and assailed it in a most violent manner. Here they shouted, threatened, swore, and discharged such vollies of stones, as made us apprehensive that they would break open the door. Accompanied by some friends, I ventured out among them, designing to note some whom we might be able to recognize, in order to bring them to justice. After having finished their ineffectual vengeance against the door and house, they retired amidst the noise of their own imprecations. In consequence of these interruptions, I applied to a magistrate for redress. He heard the statement with much apparent indignation against the rioters, issued warrants against several, and promised to do us justice. When the day of hearing arrived, I appeared against them with several respectable evidences, sufficient to substantiate the charge. The charges were proved with the most unquestionable certainty. But, alas! all the redress we could obtain was the following:—"*The offence was committed against Almighty God; it, therefore, does not belong to me to punish!*"

That the triumphs of these men were equal to those which

would have followed an honorable acquittal, it is needless to mention. They felt themselves sanctioned by those, who should have suppressed their iniquitous proceedings, and considered it as a license for their renewal of depredations. Mr. Pearce was left with all his expenses to pay,—a prey to a lawless mob, " at once the scorn and pity of his foes."

In consequence of this singular display of justice, the number of opposers increased, and persecution assumed new forms. To oppose the progress of the gospel, became a novel exertion of fashionable policy. Every door in the country, which had, hitherto, been open, they endeavored to shut; and it is with sorrow we add, that they were but too successful in their attempts. To preach by candle-light after this affair, was utterly impracticable: even an attempt of the society to sing a hymn, was almost a call to arms. The mob, ever ready for mischief on such occasions, instantly surrounded the house; and, assailing it with stones, compelled the few who assembled instantly to withdraw. For Mr. Pearce to venture without doors after night, was to endanger his life. And even within, he was obliged to provide himself with arms, to repel those midnight attacks which he much apprehended would terminate in his murder.

But in the midst of these commotions, preaching by daylight still continued; this, however, was but badly adapted to the conveniences of those who were disposed to hear. The congregations began visibly to decline; and the numbers in society suffered a considerable diminution, through the commands of those imperious masters, who forbade their slaves to attend any more. In the country, the state of religion could scarcely be known with precision. The uproar which had taken place in the town had prevented Mr. Pearce from leaving it; lest, on his return, he should find the newly-erected chapel a pile of rubbish, or a heap of ashes.

But these varied oppositions could not prevent the grace of God from operating in the hearts of those who clave to him. The society, in November, consisted of about forty members. These met regularly, and manifested by their lives and conversation, that they had obtained something of the power of godliness, as well as its form; and many of those who had been compelled to quit the connexion had conducted themselves with so much integrity and rectitude, as to reflect an honor on that cause which they were forbidden to espouse. Towards the close of the year, a few more dared to bid defiance to the tempest of persecution,

which still continued to beat upon the little society, by adding their names to those who had already declared for God. These, however, were all whites; prejudice and compulsion had so far entered into a league with respect to the people of color, that few would hear; and of these, fewer still came with a design to worship God. Such as had already joined the society, seemed to have counted the cost, so that they were not easily moved from the profession of their faith. The circumstances under which they had entered, sufficiently vouched for the purity of their motives; and, regardless of the prevailing wickedness, they continued to unite together in love, and to manifest that they were growing in grace. The whole society, at this time, consisted of forty-four members; of whom forty, as Mr. Pearce expresses himself, "appeared in a fair way for glory." Several of these had a clear evidence of their adoption; and all the others were earnestly seeking the divine favor, while their conduct afforded a sufficient proof that they were not deceived.

With the commencement of the year 1790, the noise of the rabble somewhat abated, and the congregations increased. Not, indeed, that they bore any proportion, in their numbers, to those who had filled the chapel when it was first opened; but they were much more numerous than they had been about a month before. And what was of infinitely more importance than numbers, their habitual seriousness prevented them from disgracing the place of worship by their presence. In the month of February, so far was peace restored, that Mr. Pearce ventured to preach by candle-light; in consequence of which, the congregations instantly augmented to what their original numbers had been, before the persecution had compelled them to desist from attending. Occasionally they were interrupted by some of their old disturbers; but a wonderful change had taken place in the people who regularly attended, which was evidently for the better. In general, they were remarkably serious, and appeared to be influenced by those motives which should invariably urge us to worship God. In addition to this, the society grew more lively; several were added to their number, and a spirit of prayer seemed to prevail. The lips of three or four were opened to proclaim publicly for God, and to solicit his favors; through which means, they were enabled to carry on prayer-meetings in public; while Mr. Pearce was engaged in other branches of the service of his Master.

The number in society, towards the end of February, amounted to sixty-seven; of these, forty-two were in Bridgetown, and the others in the country. But among them all, very few blacks were to be found. Forbidden by their masters, on pain of corporal punishment, even those who were desirous of hearing were prevented from attending; otherwise, Mr. Pearce gave it as his opinion, five or six hundred would have been inquiring the way to Zion.

As national prosperity but too frequently provokes war; so the success of the gospel tended to irritate its enemies in Barbadoes. The tranquillity which we have described excited envy where it should have produced emulation, and the work of God was once more to undergo a storm of persecution. It was on the 21st of March, that Mr. Pearce began divine service as usual. The congregation was large, and the generality seemed disposed to hear with a becoming seriousness. While singing a hymn, several young men entered the chapel with hostile appearances; and their subsequent conduct plainly proved, that they only waited a favorable opportunity to begin a disturbance. During the first half hour, Mr. Pearce bore their interruption without stopping to notice their conduct; at length, their noise became so intolerable, as to overpower his voice. He then endeavored to silence them by expostulation; but after making four or five ineffectual attempts, he was obliged to dismiss the congregation. On retiring from the chapel, those impudent disturbers were joined by others, who were together about a hundred, and formed a *regular mob* Their first efforts were to break open the door with stones; but finding it too strong to yield to their impressions, they ran against it with the utmost personal violence. On finding the door invulnerable, they turned their attention to a window that was over it, which they instantly demolished with stones. Mr. Pearce then ventured out among them, to induce them to desist, and to mark such as were most forward in thus violating the peace. While thus among them, several attempted to strike him; but though encircled with danger, he escaped unhurt. They, however, desisted from throwing stones; but instead of dispersing, surrounded his dwelling-house, and manifested a determination to leave behind them some signal memorial of their exploits. Nevertheless, they at length retired, after wearying themselves with menacing parades, without doing any particular mischief.

On reviewing these flagrant insults, Mr. Pearce deter-

mined once more to appeal to the justice of the island. He accordingly waited upon an attorney, and consulted two counsellors, who directed him to apply to two magistrates, who, with the utmost readiness, issued their warrants against the offenders. The affair was brought to a hearing in the town-hall, and five of the rioters pleaded guilty. Conscious of their guilt, these culprits had previously applied to Mr. Pearce, to have the matter accommodated without a hearing; but the magistrates forbade any compromise from taking place. On their pleading guilty, they received a severe reprimand from the bench, and were dismissed, on condition of their paying all the expenses of the day, and five out of the ten pounds which Mr. Pearce had given to the counsellors and attorney. This they performed; acknowledging their offence, declaring themselves sorry for it, and promising neither to interrupt him nor disturb the congregation any more.

A decision so different from the former could not but make a sensible impression upon all, and considerably dissipate that spell of prejudice, which, with other causes, had hitherto shut the door through the country. An invitation was soon given to Mr. Pearce, to visit a planter in a distant part of the island. He went accordingly; was received with the utmost politeness; and preached three sermons; which, in no small degree, tended to dispel those unfounded calumnies, which false report had so industriously spread. But some of the rioters, availing themselves of his absence, assaulted the house in which his wife resided; and, assailing it with stones, struck Mrs. Pearce with such violence, that she was most severely hurt. The delinquents being unknown, it was utterly impossible to bring them to justice; nothing, therefore, remained, but to bear the injury with patience, and watch with vigilance the return of these depredators. In the midst of these unpleasant circumstances, the members of society, though they did not increase, continued without wavering. They amounted to sixty-six; and the rectitude of their behavior was such, as not only to afford a striking contrast to the conduct of the mob; but, in the eyes of the most considerate, to counteract the mischiefs which had resulted from their disturbances.

In the year 1791, Mr. Pearce was succeeded in his missionary labors by Mr. Lumb, who found on his arrival, that, notwithstanding the wickedness and opposition which prevailed, he had more places than he could possibly supply with preaching. The white inhabitants of the town, he

describes as opinionative, and as entertaining an utter contempt for vital religion; and on this account, they prevented their slaves from receiving any instruction. The planters in the country, he represents as being far more accessible; so that, by unwearied application, he found means to remove prejudice from the minds of a great number. Seventeen estates he had the liberty constantly to attend; but on the fruits of his labor, at this period, little or nothing can be said. The number in society amounted to sixty-six; so that no diminution or increase had taken place amidst all the vicissitudes to which they had been exposed. In respect to temporal circumstances, they were, in general, poor; but the heavenly riches which they possessed, enabled them to ornament their profession; and many of them he found strong in faith, giving glory to God. Among the soldiers of the artillery, who were stationed on the island, a spirit of seriousness was visible; but he could not obtain liberty to preach among them. As to himself, he describes his situation as peculiarly dangerous; being, at once, exposed to the ridicule and laughter of thousands who were professed enemies, and to the allurements of others who were professed friends. Such was the appearance of Barbadoes in the year 1791.

Nor was the picture much enlivened in 1792. The field of action, it is true, was considerably enlarged; for no less than twenty-six estates were opened to the Missionary; which he regularly visited once every fortnight. But, unhappily, his visits were attended with little or no success. "The word of God," he observes, "seems like a stone thrown against a wall. The negroes, in general, are as much ashamed of religion as the whites; and such a place for holding divine things in contempt, I never saw before." The removal of the artillery-men from the island, had taken off many members from the society, which, with other causes, had reduced their number from sixty-six to fifty-one. Unhappily, it was not in numbers only that they were reduced; the removal of the soldiers had lessened the general stock of piety and zeal; and the ridicule which came from almost every quarter, made a deeper impression than had hitherto been perceived. Not, indeed, that any of the society were induced to fall into outward sin, or to neglect the means of grace; but that ardor, which had so conspicuously marked their conduct, was, visibly, on the decline with many,—a combination of causes had conspired to rob them of their strength. Still, however, vital religion had not

departed from them. A few were truly alive to God; and hope, the companion of faith and charity, induced Mr. Lumb to think, that the remaining spark would become a flame, and overpowering opposition take a general spread.

The year 1793, however, afforded a melancholy proof of the fallacy of human hopes, and the mutability of our most sanguine expectations. On the 30th of July, Mr. Graham, who had been appointed to labor as a Missionary, was seized with a putrid fever, and died after the short illness of six days. Prior to his illness and death, he waited on several planters in the country, but was refused admittance to the slaves, on account of its being *crop time*, or harvest. He was, however, only rejected with a "go thy way for this "time; when I have a more convenient season I will call "for thee." But the convenient season never arrived. During two months, his labors were confined chiefly to Bridge-town, together with some occasional visits among those who were disengaged from the labors of the harvest. In the town, his exertions were blessed with success; and several souls were awakened, and filled with resolutions to flee from the wrath to come.

In the beginning of the year 1794, a considerable degree of tranquillity prevailed. But returning tranquillity did not revive the prospects which had formerly appeared. In the country, very few openings were found. A small degree of renewed attention to the word, seemed to be awakened in the town; but, few were added to the society, to supply the ravages which death continued to make.

To add to the gloom which these scenes occasioned, Mr. Pearce departed this life on the 1st of May, in his passage from Grenada to this island. Of the melancholy event, his widow transmitted the following account: "In great affliction of mind, I write to you these few lines, to acquaint you with the death of my dear husband. He left Barbadoes on the 9th of February, for Grenada; but would not consent that I should accompany him, on account of the war. From that island he wrote me word that he would come for me; and meeting with an opportunity from thence to Martinico, and from thence to Barbadoes, he embraced it, that he might have seen how matters stood in this place. The vessel in which he sailed, touched at Martinico; which place they left on Saturday, the 26th of April. He was taken ill on the Monday, and left this world on the Thursday following. My loss is great indeed; but, I trust, far greater is his gain. The greatest desire of his soul was, to labor in the vineyard

of his Lord. However, God, who does all things well, has called him to his reward. Those who were about him say, he died truly happy in the Lord, and exhorted them to prepare for their latter end, that death might find them as it then found him. Oh! may I live as he lived, that I may die as he died; so that we may meet at God's right hand, where griefs will be all done away, and parting be no more!"

Though Mr. Pearce, at the time of his death, was not stationed in Barbadoes, the intelligence of his departure from time to eternity greatly afflicted all who felt an interest in that work which he had been made chiefly instrumental in raising. The parties, who had previously been formed, united their testimony in favor of his integrity and rectitude, now that he was no more; and even his enemies, who had persecuted him in his life, revered his memory, and honored him in death. In short, by the sorrow which they expressed for his death, and by the acknowledgments which they made of their belief in his piety, they condemned their own previous conduct, and bore testimony to the inconsistency which formed their characters.

The year 1795 presents us with new members added to the society, without giving to it, on the whole, any increase. About twenty were united, in the space of a few months, to those who remained; but this number was insufficient to augment the society to its former amount. The whole, indeed, taken collectively, were very poor; and on this account, the sacred cause which they espoused, became rather the more contemptible in the eyes of those who knew not God. Even the negroes themselves (which was a most extraordinary case!) were here prejudiced against us. Many of them were forward in pouring contempt upon religion, and in despising those who professed to be its friends. On these points, our Missionary in the island writes as follows: "The people are very poor in our society in this place. The work of God begins to prosper a little; and I have some hope, that religion will, finally, prevail in Barbadoes. With regard to the poor negroes in this island, I have very little to hope at present. I believe some of the white people have prejudiced their minds against what is good. On this account, I preach to the white people chiefly. Among them, a few new places are open in the country; many attend in these places, and some meet in class. I think I have joined between twenty and thirty since I came to this place. I have one opening, at which we are all astonished;

and that is in the court-house, where I preach every Monday evening to the prisoners. Many attend; and prejudice seems to be on the decline."

Gloomy as the preceding prospects may appear, they are not enlivened by the memorials of 1796. In the chapel at Bridge-town, but few, in comparison with former years, attended the preaching of the word; and even among these, a want of reverence could not have been more conspicuous, had the chapel been a theatre, and the gospel nothing but a farce. Piety, indeed, had not forsaken the society; but their numbers, both in town and country, did not exceed fifty. In addition to this, though a few doors remained open in the country, by far the greater number were completely shut. As to the town, the persecutions which had raged so violently in former years, were now nearly unknown; but they had given place to a more powerful weapon—a settled contempt for all sacred things. The chief appearance of seriousness that remained, was visible in the country. But even this was only transient. While the word was delivering, it seemed to make an impression; but, alas! like the morning cloud and the early dew, it vanished away, so that no traces were to be found. Yet, even in the midst of these unpromising appearances, the suggestions of hope excited to perseverance. And, although it was against hope, the Missionaries believed in hope; and a persuasion, that the bread which had been cast upon the waters would be found after many days, detained them, even when reason directed them to depart. The few souls who had chosen God for their portion, were precious in his sight; these, if abandoned, must have been exposed to dangers, from which, as ministers, it was our duty to shelter them; and hence arose our inducement to wait with patience the arrival of better days.

In the year 1797, the spirit of hearing, which had hitherto been subject to many vicissitudes, was visibly on the decline. In the town, rarely more than forty persons were to be found in the regular congregations. These were chiefly whites; and of them, thirty were members of the society. In the country places, the congregations seldom amounted to more than ten or twelve; and through the whole island, exclusively of Bridge-town, the members of society did not exceed twenty-one. This gloomy aspect begat within us some serious thoughts of quitting the island altogether. The same motives, however, which had thus far urged us to perseverance, induced us to continue our

exertions, from a hope, rather than an expectation, that the work would still take a more favorable turn, and that ere long we should behold a harvest of many souls.

In the year 1798, a few Mulattoes joined the society, and genuine piety seemed to revive. But, notwithstanding this addition, the original number could not be kept up. The removal of Mr. James Alexander, the Missionary, who had been stationed in the island, placed those who were truly pious, in a distressing situation;—without any public preaching, and without any one either to advise them in their difficulties, or to console them amidst the trials to which they were exposed. "We now (says a pious member) hold prayer-meetings, on such nights as the classes do not meet. You may now judge what our situation must be. We have not a man to come forth to hold up the hands of the weak, as those in society live many miles distant from Bridge-town; and others, to whom we looked for assistance, have turned their backs upon us. I hope you will take into consideration our present distress, and send us one to our relief. The Lord has reserved to himself, in this barren soil, a few who are devoted to him; and I trust that the bread which has been cast upon the waters will be gathered at the last. There are several who seem to be inquiring the road to Zion, who, I trust, when the shame of the cross is a little overcome, will embrace the truth." The letter from which the above extract is taken, is dated the 19th of April. At this time, the whole society in the town consisted of no more than thirty-six; of these, thirty were white women, the other six were men of color. Of those who were scattered through the plantations, no just estimate could be given.

In the month of February 1799, some Missionaries, on their passage to other islands, touched at Barbadoes, which had now been deprived of preaching for nearly one year. On making inquiries, they were conducted to some pious persons, who had held fast their integrity. Though their visit was exceedingly transient, one of them delivered a sermon to a few precious souls, who were hungering and thirsting after righteousness. These forsaken sheep had contrived to keep up prayer-meetings in a regular manner, and God had acknowledged and blessed their endeavors. Christian affection, and brotherly love, had cemented them together by the most indissoluble ties; and God, in the midst of their solitude, had consoled them with manifestations of his love.

But these remarks will not apply to all who once ran

well. Through the abounding of iniquity, the love of many had waxed cold. Even some, who were once pillars in the house of God, had again shaken hands with the world, and joined those whose chief delight was to traduce his people. In the country, all had forsaken the assembling of themselves together, either for public or private prayers; the necessary consequence of which negligence was, that they visibly declined from the life and power of godliness. Such are the fatal effects which result from a famine of the word.

In the year 1800, the people of Barbadoes were again favored with the sound of the gospel; but to the general mass, even of those who heard, the word delivered sounded like idle tales. They were, therefore, again forsaken towards the close of the year, and had no more preaching for three months.

In the month of March 1801, Mr. Hawkshaw, and some other Missionaries, touched at Barbadoes on their passage to some other island. Mr. H. gives the following account of the state of religion. "On the 6th of March, our ship came to anchor before Bridge-town. In the afternoon, brother B. and I went on shore, expecting to spend a few hours with the Missionary on the island; but, to our great surprize, we found that the place was wholly without a preacher; as he had locked up the chapel, sent the key into the country, and had retired about three months since, either to Antigua or St. Kitt's. Several of the dear people who felt the famine of the word, requested one of us to stay. Confident of acting in the line of duty, I acceded to their proposal, and got my things on shore accordingly. From that time to the present (March 24th) I have been laboring to obtain a knowledge of the real state of the society. In Bridge-town, there are about twenty-five who have kept themselves together, and who, I believe, are truly sincere. In the country, I conceive, there are not more than five or six; and they are so dispersed, that I know not where to find them. Only three places are open to us in the country. As to the town, we are threatened with persecution; on which account, I do not think we shall be able to have preaching in the evening in the chapel; but, perhaps, we may in some private house."

As the year advanced, Mr. Hawkshaw, through indefatigable labor, collected together several of those who had wandered from the fold; and with them some others were induced to seek the favor of God. But these dawnings of brighter days awakened the spirit of persecution, which had

been anticipated. He was much disturbed for three or four weeks; till being able to detect some of the ringleaders, they were brought before the magistrates. The decisive steps which were thus taken, soon procured peace; this gave a new countenance to the congregation; so that a revival of the work seemed once more to correspond with those hopes which had begun to languish even in the most sanguine. In the course of this year, Lord Seaforth arrived at Barbadoes, as Governor of the island. Mr. Hawkshaw waited on him, was received with the utmost politeness, and assured of his protection. He added at the same time, "I shall be happy "to hear of your success." But, though the prospects began thus to flatter, several unfavorable circumstances tended to counteract their efficacy. The chapel in Bridgetown, through use, through disuse, and violent treatment, was much out of repair; and in addition to this, it was found far too large for the accommodation of the congregations that had attended for several preceding years. This suggested the necessity of disposing of it, and purchasing with the money one that should be more suitable, and erected in a place less exposed to public annoyance. Calculations were made accordingly; and another trial was to be given to the inhabitants of Barbadoes.

Mr. Hawkshaw continued in Barbadoes during the year 1802, and God was pleased to bless his labors in an abundant manner to many souls. A new chapel, however, was not built; but the old one was repaired, and rendered much more commodious, in every respect, during his stay. The society also increased in number, and, above all, in grace. About forty regularly attended to receive the sacrament, all of whom, except four, were members of the society. In addition to this, Methodism became more reputable in the eyes of the public; and but few things happened to disturb their peace.

Mr. Hawkshaw, through the delay of Mr. Bradnock, who had been appointed to succeed him, continued in the island till the conclusion of the year 1803, before he proceeded to Grenada, the place of his destination. It was in the beginning of the year 1803, that he wrote the preceding account, respecting the condition of the society, and the state of the work at large, as it appeared to him in the year 1802. An unwillingness to leave the infant society exposed, without a preacher, was the inducement with him to wait, if possible, the arrival of his successor; and his presence contributed not a little to establish the work which had been begun.

During this year, the society, though far from being so large as could be wished, was more respectable, all circumstances considered, than could have been expected. Their numbers were much the same as those stated in the preceding year; but with this addition, that an advance in experimental religion, and the practice of piety, was visible in all.

Through a combination of circumstances which retarded his embarkation, Mr. Bradnock did not leave England till late in the autumn of 1803, and did not reach Barbadoes till the 21st of March 1804. Prior to this, Mr. Hawkshaw had departed for Grenada, and the sad effects of his removal were severely felt at the time that Mr. Bradnock arrived. Of this the following letter, dated April 30, 1804, will give us the best account.

"Here," Mr. B. observes, "I found a large island, with more than one hundred and twenty thousand souls; but only twenty-four in our society, with about forty hearers, and a debt of thirty pounds for some repairs lately made. But many are the hindrances with which the work of God in Barbadoes has had long to contend. We have not a convenient chapel, nor a burying-ground; and have no house for the preacher. For that which was formerly occupied by the preachers, adjoining to the chapel, is now possessed by others, who have it in their power (on account of our windows opening into their yard), to prevent our private, and annoy our public, means of grace. Brother Hawkshaw hath, for three years past, lived at one of our black friend's houses, paying forty pounds per year for his board, which is reckoned a small sum in this country. You are not unacquainted with the West Indies; in particular, with regard to the enmity of some men against the faithful ministers of Christ, and the very great attention paid to the dead in these islands. It has been said, not only in Barbadoes, but also in other islands, "If you go to the Methodist chapel, you "shall not be interred in the church-yard." And the fear of this prevents many from hearing the word. This, undoubtedly, would be removed, had we a burying-place of our own. The want of this prevents our having many to hear.

"On the 18th of April, I visited the Honorable President, and presented to him my credentials and certificate with the city seal. He acted the part of a worthy magistrate, promising me the enjoyment of every privilege due to my office, and every encouragement in his power to give. As I had called upon one of the peace-officers the Sabbath before, with a view to prevent dancing and drum-beating, I informed

his Excellency of the same; he said, "By all means they "should be prevented." He then gave me an order, in writing, to command all constables to discharge their duty, in preventing stores from being opened, as well as dancing, on the Lord's day. He asked me whether I intended to baptize any of the people of color? I informed him I did, as soon as I could procure a burying-ground. He wished me very much success in my undertaking; observing, "he "was sorry to say, there were so many thousands in Barba- "does, who were little regarded in that respect." I then took my leave, and went to deliver my orders to the constables, thankful to God and to our king for our good constitution. I have accompanied the constables these two Sundays, in order to stimulate them to their duty. We have had good success, and no opposition as yet. I had a very large congregation on the last Sabbath-day, and have begun to build pews in our inconvenient chapel, if, by any means, I may induce some more to attend to hear the word which is able to save their souls. I have also visited the country once, and have had a very kind reception at the house of a friend, where I preached in the evening to a large and well-behaved congregation. There is a prospect of an opening in many places in the country; but I have no horse, and cannot go, except where I have one sent for me."

Such was the scene, and such were the prospects, which presented themselves to Mr. Bradnock soon after his arrival in Barbadoes. Nor did these prospects flatter to delude, like some others which had appeared to his predecessors. In the month of November, some of the members of the society in Bridge-town favored us with the following account:

"God has been pleased to bless the work under our present pastor, Mr. Bradnock, in a remarkable manner. Divisions which unhappily existed in our little church, have, through his unwearied exertions, been healed; backsliders have been reclaimed, and the number in society increased. The Almighty hath so blessed his labors, that doors are now opening in the country to receive the gospel; and a brother, out of love to the cause, has freely offered a piece of land, for the purpose of erecting a chapel thereon, and also for a burying-ground. Mr. Bradnock seems particularly suited to do good in this country. He is even much encouraged, as well as protected, by the civil power—a privilege not so fully enjoyed by his predecessors. All

things are going on well; for which blessing, while we are grateful to him as the instrument, we desire to give glory to God."

Liberal as the offer of the land was, Mr. Bradnock found himself under the painful necessity of declining to accept it, through the poverty and pecuniary embarrassments of the society:—it was useless to begin a chapel without having the means to finish it.

Through the persecutions which had prevailed, night-preaching had been given up for many years prior to the arrival of Mr. Bradnock; but the flattering prospects with which he found himself encircled, induced him, towards the close of the year, to attempt its re-establishment. In his first endeavors he was very much annoyed; and two offenders were taken before the magistrates. These gentlemen, to their honor be it spoken, were much inclined to do justice; but on a promise of good behavior in future, from the offenders, proceedings were dropped, and they were forgiven. This lenity, however, only served to excite others to renew the disturbances; so that it was found expedient to resort to more rigorous measures. Three were accordingly bound over to the Great Sessions, to answer the charges brought against them. The methods which were taken by Mr. Bradnock and his friends, soon convinced the rioters that they were in earnest. This brought them to submission, and to sue for mercy. The prosecution was accordingly dropped, in consequence of their making a public acknowledgment in the papers, and paying the expenses, which, taken in the aggregate, fell but little short of one hundred and fifty pounds. This decisive step terminated their career of interruptions; and the pious society, which consisted of forty-nine members, closed the year in peace.

Mr. Richard Pattisson succeeded Mr. Bradnock in the year 1805. He found the society nearly in the same state in which his predecessors had left it. The congregation was rather large than respectable; since many attended for no other purpose but to create disturbances, and shelter themselves from detection under the cover of darkness. The night-preaching, which had been revived, Mr. Pattisson, nevertheless, endeavored to continue; but such noise and confusion, he declares, he had never witnessed before. "The magistrates," he observes, "are kind, and would certainly punish any one we could recognize; but it is hard to say who are the disturbers; as most of the congregation seem influenced by one spirit, and are determined to oppose.

But the Lord is able to still the ragings of the people. It seems, the only probable way of doing good, is to continue the night-preaching." With respect to the country, his views were, by no means, so sanguine as those of his predecessor; and, indeed, the instability which had been so often found, afforded but too much room for a diversity of opinions. On the whole, the members of society through the island, who amounted to nearly fifty, were orderly, pious, and steadfast: the mob were always ready to create disturbances; the congregations were unstable; and the people, in general, utterly averse to the gospel.

The year 1806 afforded little or no probability of enlarging the sphere of action. "People of all descriptions," says Mr. Pattisson, "seem utterly averse to preaching, and oppose the gospel. We have sometimes a number of white people who attend; but it is astonishing to see with what indifference they sit under the word, and what contempt they manifest." The society, this year, consisted of twenty whites and twenty-one persons of color; so that, on the whole, the number rather declined. Among these might be found, two or three who halted between two opinions; but all besides seemed quite in earnest for the salvation of their souls.

The bad success which had attended the preaching of the word in this island, afforded but indifferent encouragement for us to persevere, with any hope of success, in this unfruitful part of our work. But the few pious souls who had borne up under a tempest of persecution, which, in various forms, had assailed them for years, forbade us to abandon them to the dangers with which they were surrounded. Mr. Pattisson, being about to return to Europe, was succeeded by Mr. Robinson, who providentially reached the island a little before his departure from it. This administered no small degree of joy to the few pious worshippers, who even trembled at their approaching separation from the preaching of the word. A gleam of hope was excited, by the prospect of a new opening in the country, as a Mr. Harding, who had long been our sincere friend, had purchased an estate, on which were about one hundred and forty negroes. To these negroes the Missionaries could have free access: and we flattered ourselves, that if God should be pleased to bless his word among them, the proprietors of other estates, beholding the reformation which had been wrought, might be induced, from motives of interest, to invite the Mission-

aries to enter a door, which better principles could not persuade them to open.

Encouraged by these prospects, and animated by these hopes, Mr. Robinson entered upon his labors, in expectation of obtaining the divine blessing on his exertions. The society and congregations, both in town and country, were in nearly the same state as that which has been already described. The former did not amount to fifty members, but these were pious; the numbers of the latter were continually varying, many of whom had reached a maturity in wickedness, and were possessed of stability in opposing the things of God.

Unhappily, the appearances of 1807 did not answer the expectations of the preceding year. The labors of Mr. Robinson, during the former part of the year, were not crowned with any remarkable successes. Though indefatigable in his exertions, the society rather declined in numbers; so that, the last returns stated them to amount to no more than thirty-six; of whom, twenty-three were whites, and thirteen colored people and blacks.

To heighten the afflictions of this remnant of the society, and apparently to withdraw the sound of the gospel from the island, it pleased God, in his inscrutable judgments, to call Mr. Robinson to his eternal reward. This melancholy event took place on the 17th of July 1807, of which Mr. Harding has favored us with the following account: "On Thursday, the 2d instant, Mr. Robinson rode to brother Chapman's, about seven miles from Bridge-town; and in the evening preached. He exerted himself much during the discourse, which was observed to be more solemn and energetic than usual; and after singing several hymns with the family, retired to rest in good spirits, and, apparently, in good health. When he arose next morning, he complained of severe indisposition, and was prevailed upon to return again to bed. On medical aid being called in, he was found to be in a bilious fever. Every mean was made use of for his recovery, but without effect; the disease was irresistible, and raged with increased violence; but he bore his suffering with great firmness, and true Christian fortitude. One night during his illness, he observed to one who sat by his bed-side, that it was strongly impressed on his mind, if the Lord should spare him, to speak from Acts xxvii. 23, 24; on which passage he made some remarks. On another occasion, at the near approach of death, he observed, (allud-

ing to his agony) " It is a hard thing to die, but I shall be " more than conqueror." His last request was, " Praise " God on my account, for I have not a doubt of my accept- " ance." In the article of death, he represented a glorious scene to those around him: suddenly rising upon his knees in the bed, he stretched forth his hands, and lifting his eyes towards heaven, exclaimed aloud--" I am more than con- " queror, I am more than conqueror," and instantly gave up the ghost. May I die like him, and may my last end be like his.

" WILLIAM HARDING."

Such are the mysterious dispensations of the Almighty. In this vale of tears, we are called to walk by faith, and not by sight,—to behold effects abstracted from their causes,—and to survey detached facts, without being able to trace their connexion with the moral government of the world. In the kingdom of nature, the way of God is in the whirlwind; and in the kingdom of grace, his judgments and forbearance are past finding out. The inhabitants of Barbadoes have long heard the invitations which have been given them to repentance; and both judgments and mercies have been displayed towards them in a most singular manner; yet have they not returned to me, saith the Lord.

Inundations, drought, and hurricanes, have more than once visited their shores; and death has so repeatedly knocked at their doors, that the sound is become too familiar to permit them to perceive the warnings which are given. The pestilence may, perhaps, be soon commissioned to ravage an ungrateful territory, to sweep away the inhabitants, and desolate the land. These judgments may induce the survivors to regret their neglect of that gospel, which they have so long despised, and urge them to call for mercy, when God may refuse to give them an answer. The death of Mr. Robinson left them without a preacher; and the little pious flock without a shepherd, in the midst of a wilderness, exposed to dangers from which nothing but divine grace can preserve them. But he, in whom they have learned to trust, well knows how to succour them in the midst of temptation; and if they cleave to him, he will work a way for their escape. May God give the inhabitants at large to know, in the day of their visitation, the things that belong to their peace, before they are for ever hidden from their eyes!

The Methodist Conference, however, is still determined to retain its hold of this populous, but unfruitful island; and, therefore, we continue in hope, that its exertions will, at last, be abundantly blessed by our long-suffering and gracious God and Saviour. Some further, but very brief account, of the work in Barbadoes, will be laid before our readers in the APPENDIX.

CHAP. XX.

HISTORY OF TOBAGO.

Extent.—Situation.—Appearance.—Primary inhabitants.—Original settlements.—Vicissitudes.—Captures.—Climate.—Fertility.—Productions.—Present inhabitants.—Attempts of the Moravians to establish a Mission on the island.

THIS little island, the utmost length of which does not exceed thirty-two miles, nor its breadth nine miles, is situated in 11° 10′ north latitude, and in 60° 30′ west longitude. It lies more to the east than any of the other islands, except Barbadoes, and is at an equal distance, of about one hundred and twenty miles, from that island and from the Spanish main. The climate is more temperate, considering its proximity to the equator, than that of some other islands at a greater distance from it. And besides this exemption from suffocating heats, it has likewise the advantage of not being so subject to those dreadful hurricanes, which sometimes lay waste entire plantations, demolish houses, and destroy the shipping, in other parts of the West Indies. The fertility of the soil; the beauty of the country, variegated by hills and valleys, and abundantly watered by rivers and springs; and the safe position of its bays and creeks, both for navigation and shelter, render it at once convenient and agreeable both for residence and commercial pursuits. By whom this island was first discovered, it is now both useless to inquire, and impossible to know. It is highly probable that it was once inhabited by the savage tribes; but that these were ever very numerous, admits of considerable doubt. If traditions, which have been brought from the contiguous continent, may be thought deserving of credit, we shall learn from them that the island was originally peopled by a warlike race, who were perpetually engaged in conflicts with the inhabitants of the neighboring shores; and that, after innumerable contests, the numbers of the latter prevailed over the valor of the former, and compelled them to abandon a spot which they had defended from generation to genera-

tion, and to seek in the adjacent islands an asylum which this was destined to yield them no more.

The period in which it was abandoned, is as uncertain as the occasion which we have mentioned. This much however is clear, that the victors, satisfied with having expelled the vanquished, abandoned the territory from which they had compelled them to retire, without attempting to turn it to any advantage, or even to take it into their possession. It was in the year 1632, while the nations of Europe were ranging the American seas in pursuit of dominion and wealth, that some natives of Flessingen fixed their eyes upon Tobago. These adventurers were about two hundred in number. At this period it seemed to be abandoned and neglected by all, and lay without either inhabitant or claimant. This circumstance gave encouragement to the Dutch in founding their infant colony, and induced them to believe that they should be permitted to settle, without meeting with any to obstruct their intentions, or dispute their rights. But in these conjectures they were miserably mistaken.

The Spaniards who inhabited Trinidad no sooner obtained intelligence of this intended settlement, than they grew jealous of their enterprizing neighbors; and from an apprehension that they would penetrate their secrets in exploring the banks of the Oronooko, which at this time were thought to contain beds of gold, they fixed a resolution to attack and destroy them. The savages who inhabited the neighboring parts of the continent had already suffered so much from the Spaniards, as to view with the utmost detestation every stranger who bore the name of European. These were easily prevailed upon to assist in the destruction of their new invaders; not because they loved the Spaniards, but because the death of every stranger rendered the number of their common enemies smaller. The savages of Trinidad, and the cannibals of the continent, soon embarked on their murderous expedition. They assailed the new settlers in a moment when they had no expectation of hostility, and were but too successful in their undertaking. Whoever was so unfortunate as to fall within the reach of either was sure to suffer death. The colonists, unable to make any effectual resistance, soon became the victims of their merciless assassins; the greater number bled beneath their sabres; and the few who escaped the general carnage, to preserve the mournful memorials of their sufferings, betook themselves to the forests, there to wait a favorable oppor-

tunity to abandon an island which had promised riches, but lured them to destruction.

The island, thus robbed of its inhabitants, was instantly abandoned by its conquerors, and once more consigned over to solitude. In this situation it remained upwards of twenty years, till the circumstances of the calamity were nearly forgotten. In 1654 the Dutch made a second attempt; but their successes were neither more permanent nor more advantageous. In 1666 they were attacked by us, and once more dispossessed of the island. But the conquerors were not permitted to reap the fruits of their victory; they were attacked in their turn by the arms of France, and compelled to resign their possessions into the hands of their new invaders. Lewis XIV. having at this time more territory than he could either people or defend, permitted, on this occasion, his ambition to give way to his avarice. He restored the island to its ancient possessors the Dutch, who sent thither one thousand two hundred inhabitants to clear and cultivate the lands. These colonists, placing in the French monarch more confidence than his conduct deserved, immediately began to cultivate tobacco, indigo, and cotton; to which they added a few sugar plantations, and flattered themselves with the prospect of a productive harvest, to reward them for the sufferings of their countrymen and their own personal toils.

But these prospects, like the former, only flattered to delude. The ambition of the French monarch, which had been at variance with his avarice, and had given the island to the Dutch when it was wrested from us, now conspired to rob them of the territory which his specious generosity had previously bestowed. In the year 1677 the French equipped a formidable fleet, the command of which was given to D' Estrées, and sent it into these seas to capture Tobago. The Dutch, prior to its sailing, had been apprized of their intention, and dispatched a naval force to protect the colonists, and oppose the assailants. It was in the month of February that these fleets fell in with each other, when a most desperate engagement ensued. In this conflict every ship was dismasted, twelve vessels were burned, and many others sunk. Those which escaped were reduced to mere wrecks; and scarcely a sufficient number of seamen was left alive to conduct any of them into their respective ports. The French, after meeting with such a severe repulse, were by no means in a condition to pursue the object of their voyage. It was relinquished accordingly; and Tobago

escaped for the present the subjugation with which it was threatened.

The pride of Lewis, irritated at this disappointment and disgrace, determined to make another effort to wipe off the dishonor which he thought had tarnished the lustre of his arms in the eyes of Europe. In the month of December, in the same year, another expedition was fitted out under the direction of the same commander. This reached the destined spot without meeting with any impediment to arrest its progress, or counteract its design. The troops landed without much opposition; but they found that every preparation was made to give them a warm reception. Both parties began an engagement which they supported with the utmost bravery; well knowing that the fate of the island, under Providence, depended on its issue. Victory for a considerable time hovered in suspense, till a shell, thrown from the camp of the assailants into that of the defenders, blew up their powder magazine, and decided the business.

The colonists, having the means of defence no longer in their power, were compelled to submit to the mercy of their invaders. Unhappily, they found but a small portion of this ingredient. The conquerors, provoked at their resistance, and determined to revenge their former defeat, treated them with a degree of rigour which was unexpected, if not unexampled. The fortifications were dismantled; the plantations and houses were consumed with fire; the ships in the harbor, with their respective cargoes, were seized; and the inhabitants were carried off the island. Finding nothing more which seemed capable of destruction, the victors abandoned the prize for which they had been so eagerly contending, and Tobago was once more consigned over to that solitude in which it was first discovered. In the peace which followed, France was confirmed in this useless possession; and more than half a century passed by before a single person was sent to inhabit it.

To justify this indolence, which merited more contempt than the defeat which the French had sustained in their first endeavors to take it, they spread a report, that what they had captured by their arms, and secured by the treaty of peace, was little better than a barren rock, unworthy their regard, and but ill calculated to realize their expectations. Our government, however, were not to be deluded with such reports, which they well knew were founded on falsehoods. The time during which they had had it in their possession was indeed but short, but it was sufficient to enable

them to ascertain the fact. They knew its importance, and only waited a favorable moment to convince the world in what light it was viewed by them. The war which almost immediately succeeded, furnished them with this opportunity; and they once more took possession of Tobago, not so much by way of conquest, as to assert the former rights on which they founded their pretensions to possession. The peace which took place in 1763, guaranteed this much-disputed claim, and laid the foundation of the first permanent colony that, through a train of disastrous circumstances, had ever been permitted to flourish within its shores.

We must not, however, imagine, because the French sent out no colonists to settle on this island while it was in their possession, that it was entirely destitute of inhabitants when our government asserted its almost forgotten claims. Through the long period of fifty years, a great number of solitary individuals had removed thither from different places, through a variety of causes. These had begun plantations in many parts; but none pretended to have any other claim upon the lands which they held, than that which arose from undisputed possession. The island, it was admitted by all, belonged at that time to France; and as such, they acknowledged themselves to be French subjects. They lived in a kind of peaceable anarchy; they derived no protection from the mother-country, and they paid no tribute to it; their ambition led them no farther, than to procure for themselves a scanty sustenance; and they were chiefly indebted for their safety to their poverty.

On the arrival of our countrymen the face of things assumed another aspect. They did not attempt to drive the former settlers from their plantations; but, by incorporating them among themselves, placed them on a more permanent footing, and broke off their dependance upon France. Unfortunately, our countrymen, on their arrival, began their settlements on the leeward side of the island; and thus exposed both themselves and their slaves to those pernicious effects which the noxious vapours blown over an extensive tract of land, rarely fail to produce in that country. The consequences of this imprudent step immediately followed. A dreadful mortality prevailed, and the whole colony was brought into a desponding state. Convinced by experience of an error which their prudence should have foreseen, they removed to the windward, and found the air more salubrious. Here they began their plantations, and laid the foundation

of that prosperity which the island has since attained; or, rather, continues to the present hour to anticipate.

To expedite the cultivation of the soil, the proprietors, soon after Tobago came into our possession, exposed the lands to sale. They were put up in lots of five hundred acres each; and, to prevent monopoly, no purchaser was permitted to engross more than a single portion. Unhappily, the formalities attending these sales rather retarded than promoted the settlement in its early periods; for, though the title was known to be unquestionable, and the quality of the lands excellent, not more than forty thousand acres could find purchasers during the first three years after we were confirmed in our possession by the peace of 1763. The price was inconsiderable; not amounting to much more than twenty shillings per acre; and the money was to be paid by instalments at different periods, when it was presumed the proprietor would be able to make some returns from the productions of the soil.

It was in consequence of these tempting offers, joined to the natural advantages of the island, that several rich merchants of Bristol and London were induced to advance considerable sums of money to their countrymen emigrating from England, and from the well-inhabited West India Islands, to settle at Tobago. The same inducements operated upon the minds of the emigrants, and led them to borrow the sums which were offered at a most exorbitant interest.

From this union of industry and wealth, a considerable portion of the island was, in the space of twenty years, rendered productive of many valuable commodities, such as were perfectly unknown in the former periods of its history. It was fast approaching towards perfection, when unhappily the vicissitudes of war once more threw it into the hands of the French in 1781; and their rights of conquest were confirmed by the definitive treaty of 1783.

In the succeeding war, it was, however, again retaken by Admiral Sir John Laforey, and by the land forces under the command of Major-General Cuyler, on the 13th of April, 1793. At this time it was an easy conquest; for little resistance was made by the inhabitants, some of the principal planters being Englishmen, who, in virtue of a stipulation in their favor in the treaty of 1783, had been allowed to remain on the island, and to keep their property under the old government of France.

But the astonishing revolution in the French empire,

which all Europe has beheld with amazement, naturally tended to render all property questionable and insecure; and this insecurity increased in these distant possessions, in proportion to the rapidity of those changes which succeeded each other in the parent state. The confiscations which were constantly taking place at home, naturally suggested the idea of confiscations abroad. The old government from which those grants had originated by virtue of which the British settlers held their property, had been abolished; and, with that abolition, the only security on which they stood disappeared.

Nor were the French inhabitants placed in a more permanent situation. They held their possessions by the same grants; they felt with the same painful emotions the convulsions which threatened to destroy them; and, in conjunction with the British, anxiously waited some favorable event through which they might avert the impending storm. In short, the dread of danger became the parent of disaffection; and even the French, as well as the English, without much reluctance, surrendered the island into the hands of Sir John Laforey. Even in the eyes of the French Republic, it was rather given up by the inhabitants, than conquered by its invaders; and as such, it was reclaimed and restored by the 3d article of the definitive treaty of peace in 1802.

It was not, however, destined to continue long under the French government. War was renewed between Great Britain and France in May 1803; and on the 1st of July, in the same year, Tobago again surrendered, by capitulation, to the British forces commanded by Lieutenant-General Grinfield and Commodore Hood; and under British dominion, it is to be hoped, the island will long remain.

Tobago, before the accessible land was cleared of its thick forests by the assiduity of our settlers, after the peace of 1783, was one of the most unhealthy spots in the West Indies. This was owing in a great measure to large tracts of marshy land, which rendered the air extremely unwholesome. These bogs they contrived to drain, though at an enormous expense, and with considerable labor. Of the sums which they had borrowed from the London and Bristol merchants, at the exorbitant interest of eleven per cent. a considerable portion was expended in the accomplishment of this necessary work; but the soil, which was thus rescued from the stagnant waters, promised to repay them with an ample compensation.

For the last twenty years, the effects of those improvements have been perceptible in the advantageous change of the atmosphere. In consequence, the country has been highly cultivated, and the prosperity and health of the inhabitants have been rapidly increasing; so that, with a few exceptions, this island may now be considered as very healthy. The situation of Scarborough, its capital, is remarkably dry and declivous; the houses are mostly separated, or, if joining, they are well disposed and ventilated; and as the environs are neither much wooded, nor any where incumbered with wet or marshy ground, it cannot be considered as unhealthy, in any other respect than that of its being to leeward of the unwholesome air of the bay of Bacolet.

This island is not, like most of the other Antilles, encumbered with stupendous inaccessible mountains. The highest grounds rise only into agreeable and moderate hills, from which you descend into fertile vallies and extensive plains, shaded with a variety of lofty trees, which seem as if planted by nature to protect the inhabitants, who walk under the spreading branches, from the scorching heat of the sun. The cedar and palm trees are particularly distinguished for their extraordinary height and circumference, far exceeding those of the other islands. It is also remarkable for the great variety and abundance of its fruit-trees, the beauty and fragrance of its shrubs and flowers, and the plenty of culinary vegetables supplying a wholesome cooling diet essentially necessary in this hot climate.

Some kinds of animals, of which only one or two are to be found in the other islands, abound in this; particularly a distinct species of wild boars; and hogs having shorter ears than those of Europe, and also a vent, by some called the navel, on their backs: their grunting noise is likewise more frightful. Armadilloes, agoutes, musk rats, and wild cats, whose skins are mottled with various colors, are also occasionally found in this island. The birds are almost innumerable. Amongst others, turtle doves, parroquets, and turushes, fly about in such large flocks, that they sometimes seem to darken the sky. There is likewise a peculiar species of pheasants, which the inhabitants call *Kaquereka*, because, at break of day, they repeat distinctly, and almost incessantly, a shrill cry resembling the sound of that word, which is very disagreeable to the ears of persons not accustomed to it; but the flesh of this bird is delicious food.

The sea which washes the coast of this island abounds

with all sorts of excellent fish, especially large turtles, which, during the calm and silence of the night, come on shore in troops to conceal their eggs in the moist sands;—an instinct which they receive from the God of nature, as the only way of preserving their species. But they are often defeated in this design by the lords of the creation, who not only deprive them of their eggs, but, by turning them on their backs, easily catch them alive, the weight of their shells preventing them from recovering their natural posture. The use that is made of their flesh as a delicious food, and of their shells in ornamental works, is too well known to require any description.

With respect to reptiles, Tobago, as well as some of the other West India Islands, is exempt from any of the venomous kind; though serpents or snakes, of the enormous length of from twelve to fifteen feet, are sometimes found in the most unfrequented woods. These, however, retire on the approach of man, and are only killed by the negroes, who eat their flesh, and sell their skins to the curious; by whom they are held in estimation for the beauty of their scales.

An intermixture of English and French, with some Flemish settlers, occasioned by the island's so often changing masters through the incidents of war, has produced a general toleration in religious concerns; so that christians of different persuasions live together in society in perfect peace and harmony, subject to the spiritual jurisdiction and discipline of their respective ministers. This is particularly the case with the Dutch emigrants from Zealand, who, early in the seventeenth century, laid the foundation of a new colony in this island, where many of their descendants still remain.

In this island the Moravian brethren have made some attempts, but hitherto without any considerable success; a variety of causes having conspired to frustrate their intentions. Exertion and prosperity are two distinct ideas; we may use the former, but the latter we cannot command. The intervention of secret causes sometimes defeats our best endeavors; piety and sincerity are alike exposed to opposition; nor is it in the power of man to calculate with certainty upon the issues of his plans.

A gentleman, whose name was Hamilton, had resided for some time in the island of Tobago; and, from the favorable reports which he had heard of the Moravian brethren, he repeatedly requested them by letter to visit his abode. Mr. Hamilton was a gentleman of considerable

property and influence; and his indefatigable zeal to promote the welfare of his negroes caused him to propose a mission among them, that they might be made acquainted with the gospel of Jesus, and the way to everlasting life.

His repeated applications, however, though not disregarded, were for a considerable time apparently made in vain. Various causes united to forbid a compliance; but one reason of considerable weight was, that as the island was at that time in the hands of the French, and the ecclesiastical government Roman Catholic, it remained a matter of considerable doubt, whether a mission could be established with any probability of continuance.

At this time Mr. John Montgomery, a Moravian missionary, resided in Barbadoes, who, at the solicitations of Mr. Hamilton, went over to Tobago. By Mr. Hamilton he was introduced to the Governor, Count Dillon; who not only treated him with kindness and respect, but promised him both protection and support. The report of this visit was accompanied with a renewed application on the part of Mr. Hamilton; and toward the close of the year 1789 it was determined, that Mr. Montgomery should leave Barbadoes, and take up his residence in Tobago. He accordingly left the former island on the 22d of April 1790, and reached the latter on the 27th.

On his arrival, the Governor issued immediate orders for bringing him on shore, and appointed a soldier to conduct him in safety to his house; assuring him, on his approach, that he was greatly rejoiced at the intended settlement, and that he would gladly render all the assistance in his power. Mr. Hamilton procured a convenient lodging, and did every thing he could to promote the great object of the mission, and to make his situation as comfortable as the state of things would allow.

Scarcely, however, had Mr. Montgomery settled in his new island, before a general alarm spread through every part. This was occasioned by a mutiny that had broken out among the soldiers. In the first place, they proceeded to attack their officers; and so far succeeded, that they beat them most unmercifully. Then forming themselves into separate parties, some formed garrisons without any officers; and others, from perhaps an apprehension of an impending storm, departed to the neighboring islands. About two days afterwards, the town was set on fire, about two o'clock in the morning, while the peaceable inhabitants were fast asleep. The houses being built chiefly of wood, the dryness

of the season and a high wind favored the abominable design. The conflagration spread in every direction, and did not stop until it reached the sea. Some few magazines, which stood to the windward of the fire, were happily preserved; but, exclusively of these, the whole town was reduced to a heap of ruins. The inhabitants of the country indeed, upon hearing the alarm, proceeded with their negroes towards the fire, in hopes of being able to stop the progress of the flames; but, on their arrival, they were forbidden entrance by the soldiers, who had shut up every avenue, and would not suffer one negro to enter, until all should be over, or until their assistance could be of no service.

After some time, when the tumult had subsided, and tranquillity was again restored, Mr. Montgomery removed to a new habitation which had been fitted up for his reception. "The day after (he observes) I went to church, and conversed with some negroes, who promised to tell their companions, that, at four o'clock in the afternoon, I should be glad to see them at my house, to speak to them of their Creator and Redeemer. They all promised to come, but not one came. During the following week I went frequently to the town, to make myself known; and on the Sunday following addressed them again, and invited them to meet at my house. They again promised to come, but not one appeared at the appointed time. On the following Sunday, July the 14th, I waited a whole hour for hearers; at length three came. To these I spoke of the great love of God to them and the whole fallen human race. In about an hour's time nearly thirty had assembled, to whom I delivered a discourse on these words, *God is love*. They behaved well; and some promised to come again. A negro woman said, "We know very well how to go to church; and therefore "we came to hear the new preacher, and we like him very "well."

"The Sunday after this, fourteen were at the meeting; but on the two Sundays following not one appeared. Between our house and the town is a plain upon the sea-coast, on which all kinds of diversions are practised upon Sunday afternoons. All the negroes, who would come to us from the town, must pass close by this place; and thus it seems as if Satan had pitched his camp opposite to us, and would not suffer any one to pass by to hear the gospel. What can I say more? Gladly would I say something more encouraging, but I cannot at present; nor can I describe, in words,

the sensations of my heart in meditating upon these subjects. Remember and pray for your poor distressed brother,

JOHN MONTGOMERY."

The insurrection and fire, which we have already noticed, were succeeded, in August 1790, by a most tremendous hurricane. About twenty vessels were driven on shore, and completely lost, in different parts of the island. In the country the devastation was no less sudden and terrible. Mr. Hamilton's sugar-works, being about seventy feet long, were totally destroyed, together with all the stores which they contained. His elegant new mansion, which had been built upon pillars, was lifted up by the tempest, and removed to some distance; but, being well made, it did not go to pieces. Mrs. Hamilton fainted away, fell down, and hurt her face in the fall; but two ladies and five children, who were in the house, suffered little or no harm. Mr. Hamilton, being absent from home, knew nothing of what had happened to his habitation; but returning in the night, which was excessively dark, and groping for his door, fell over some rubbish which was left on the spot, and so far hurt himself that he was confined for a week.

At this time Mrs. Montgomery was ill of a fever, which on the 23d of October terminated in her death. Close by their house stood an old uninhabited building: this, through the violence of the hurricane, was lifted from the ground, and thrown upon their habitation; so that they expected every moment to be buried in the ruins of both. "I ran," says Mr. Montgomery, "out of the house to look about me, but could see nothing for rain and lightning. Rafters and shingles were flying about in the air, and the storm soon forced me back into our dwelling. In a few minutes the rain had as thoroughly penetrated my clothes as if I had fallen into the sea. I now carried my poor sick wife into a small chamber adjoining the dwelling; but, though it was firmly built, the rain beat in at all corners; so that there was but one small spot where she could sit dry; and in this situation we remained till the storm abated.

"As to the mission, I have not hitherto been able to gain the attention of the town negroes. Many of them have been baptized by the Roman Catholic priests and others, though none of them attend any public worship. I shall therefore direct myself, in future, more to the plantation negroes; and Mr. Hamilton has kindly promised to procure a horse for this purpose.

" Though many gentlemen promised their assistance in supporting the mission, yet I plainly perceive that the burthen will fall chiefly upon Mr. Hamilton. Some of those who subscribed the paper sent to the synod have left the island, and others are dead. Some think that the revolution in France has put an end to all hopes of success, and discontinue their subscriptions; while others are cast down by the great misfortunes that have lately befallen them. Some, who formerly gave me pressing invitations to preach on their estates, never mention a word about it now; but our greatest grief is, *that we have not yet found one single soul that seeks a Saviour.*"

Early in March 1791, Mr. Montgomery, having lost his wife, seeing no fruit of his labors, and being ill of a dysentery, took his leave of Tobago, and returned to Barbadoes. In this island his complaint increased, so as to baffle the efforts of those who endeavored to restore his health; and on the 27th of June, he exchanged the troubles of time for the rewards of eternity. Thus began and thus ended with Mr. Montgomery the Moravian mission in Tobago.

In 1792, Mr. Hamilton again renewed his application for a successor to Mr. Montgomery, and in this request he was joined by other planters; but the brethren were not prepared to comply with it. They, nevertheless, directed, that Mr. Fritz, their Missionary in Barbadoes, should occasionally visit Tobago, till a more favorable period should arrive for them to make another effort.

CHAP. XXI.

HISTORY OF ST. VINCENT'S.

St. Vincent's.—Situation, and acknowledged Neutrality.—Original Inhabitants.—Origin of the black Charaibees.—Their domestic Contentions, and Wars with the red Charaibees.—The French gain a Footing through these Discords, and, finally, form a Compromise with the prevailing Faction.—Conquest of the Island by the English.—Ceded to them in perpetuity by the Treaty of 1763.—*Encroachments upon the Lands of the Charaibees.—This succeeded by a War.—Articles of Pacification.—Vicissitudes.—Violation of the above Articles through French Intrigue.—Captured by the French in* 1779; *and, finally, restored to England in* 1783.

IT is situated in the 13th degree of north latitude, and the 61st west longitude from London, and is nearly at an equal distance from the two British colonies of Grenada and Barbadoes.

This island, being either overlooked or neglected by European navigators and adventurers, many years after they had seized and colonized most of the other West India islands, became the asylum of the native Indians, who had fled from the cruelties of the Spaniards, the first European invaders of their ancient habitations. The prospect of undisturbed tranquillity, uniting with a variety of local circumstances, rendered it more congenial to their genius and mode of living, than any other spot. Amongst other particulars, its numerous rivers, and pleasant vallies; the vast quantities of fish to be caught around its shores; and the conveniency of procuring trees proper for making canoes, gratified their desires, and gave this island, in their estimation, a decided superiority.

Of the original inhabitants, there are various accounts extant, materially differing from each other; which render a circumstantial detail the less interesting, especially as they all depend on uncertain tradition.

A difficulty in accounting for facts, which we cannot but

perceive, without fully comprehending them, rarely fails to open the door to conjecture in almost all its forms. In these cases, supposition usurps the place of historical certainty; a concurrence of opinion gives weight to the inventions of fancy; and time, which sometimes gives sanction to the grossest absurdity, metamorphoses error into current truth.

The island of St. Vincent exhibited to the first settlers, two distinct races of men. They were, evidently, of different origins, and their appearances and manners plainly corresponded with those of different portions of the globe. One of these tribes had, evidently, descended from the Aborigines of the island; those of the other tribe were, as evidently, intruders; and the great difficulty consists in accounting fairly and fully for their introduction. To speak with certainty on this point, which is admitted by all to be dubious, is what no author pretends. Probability is the highest species of evidence which has hitherto been attained; and on this foundation the origin of this people rests.

Upon a fair comparison, Raynal seems to have given the most concise and satisfactory narrative of the early settlement of the Europeans among the natives, and of other savage tribes inhabiting the island, and claiming it as their undisputed property at that period. "When the English and "French," says that author, "began to give some con- "sistence to their settlements on the Windward Islands, in "1660, they agreed, that Dominica and St. Vincent's "should be left to the Charaibees, as their property. Some "of these savages, who till then had been dispersed, re- "tired into the former; but the greater part into the latter.

"The population of these children of nature was sud- "denly increased by a race of Africans, whose origin was "never ascertained. It is asserted, that a ship carrying out "negroes from that country, for sale, foundered on the "coast of St. Vincent; and that the slaves who escaped "from the wreck were received by the inhabitants as "brethren. Others pretend, that these blacks were de- "serters from the plantations of the neighbouring colonies. "A third tradition says, that this foreign race came from "the blacks, whom the Charaibees took from the Spaniards, "in the first wars between those Europeans and the Indians. "If we may credit Du Tertre, the oldest historian who has "written on the Leeward Islands, those terrible savages, "who were so inveterate against their European masters, "spared the captive slaves, took them into their houses, and "restored them to liberty, that they might enjoy life, that

" is to say, the common blessings of nature, which no man " has a right to withhold from his fellow-creatures. But " this was not all. The proprietors of the island gave their " daughters in marriage to these strangers; and the race " which sprung from this mixture, were called Black " Charaibs, having preserved more of the primitive color " of their fathers, than of the lighter hue of their mothers. " The red Charaibs, or Charaibees, as they are now most " generally called, are of a low stature; the black Charaibs " are tall and stout; and this doubly-savage race speak with " a degree of vehemence which seems like anger.

" At length, however, some difference arose between " the two classes of these savages; of which, the French " inhabitants of Martinico resolved to avail themselves, and " thereby to profit by the ruin of both parties.* They

* Whatever the origin of these people might have been, this much is evident: they were fostered by the natives, and treated as brethren whom they felt solicitous to rescue from distress. How long both parties continued in amity, appears rather uncertain. Time, however, which produces a forgetfulness of past misfortunes, and an obliteration of gratitude, increased their numbers, their power, and their ambition. This change in circumstances soon led to a change in their condition. They rose upon their original benefactors and preservers, and, taking possession of their habitations and lands, drove them back into the north-west part of the island. This happened about the year 1700.

The reason which has been assigned for this flagrant departure from that gratitude which is so peculiar to the Indian character, is this: The red Charaibees finding their black associates increase faster than themselves, came to a resolution similar to that which had been adopted by Pharaoh on a somewhat similar occasion; namely, *to put all their male children to death.* And the blacks, exasperated at this mode of cruelty, which was an outrage upon savage barbarity, proceeded to arms, and, finally, to conquest, as above described.

The red Charaibees, however, driven from their habitations and lands, uniformly made this treatment a subject of complaint, both to the English and French, who occasionally touched on their part of the island, to take in wood and water. The French, anxious to promote their own interest under the auspices of justice, consented, after some deliberation, to espouse the cause of the injured party; and, accordingly, in 1719, fitted out a considerable expedition from Martinico.

Acting in compliance with the solicitations of the red Charaibees, the French naturally expected, on their arrival, to find them in readiness to co-operate in the common design. And in confidence of that persuasion, landing without much opposition, they proceeded immediately to set fire to the huts and plantations of the black Charaibees, whom they fully resolved either wholly to extirpate, or to reduce to slavery. The red Charaibees, however, who had been so forward to complain of the injuries they had sustained, and to invite the French to the attack, enjoyed the storm like unconcerned spectators; while the French, unacquainted with that mode of warfare which they were necessitated to pursue, were, finally, obliged to retire with considerable loss.

The *black Charaibees*, unable to withstand the force of European arms,

" pretended, that the black Charaibees gave shelter to the " slaves who deserted from the French islands.—Imposture " is always productive of injustice. Those who were falsely " accused, were afterwards attacked without reason; but " the smallness of the numbers sent out against them, the " jealousy of those who were appointed to command the " expedition, the defection of the red Charaibs, who refused " to supply such dangerous allies with any of the succours " they had promised them, to act against their rivals; and " the impossibility of coming up with enemies who kept " themselves concealed in woods,—were all circumstances " which combined to disconcert this rash and violent enter- " prize. The invaders were forced to re-embark, after " losing many valuable lives; but the triumph of the black " Charaibs did not prevent their suing for peace. They " even invited the French to come and live with them, " swearing sincere friendship and inviolable concord. The " proposal was accepted; and in the year 1719, many " of the French inhabitants of Martinico removed to St. " Vincent's."

When the French planters came to settle at St. Vincent's, they brought their slaves from Martinico, and other French islands, to clear and till the ground. The black Charaibs, shocked at the idea of resembling men who were degraded by slavery, and fearing that in process of time their own color, which betrayed their origin, might be made a pretence for enslaving them, took refuge in the thickest part of the woods. In this situation, in order to create and perpetuate a visible distinction between their race and the slaves brought into the island, they compressed so as to flatten the foreheads of all their new-born infants; and this was, thereafter, considered as a token of their independence. The next generation thus became, as it were, a new race.* The flat-

retreated by day from the scene of action, and secreted themselves in some inaccessible parts; while, sallying by night from some unsuspected ambushes, success so far attended them, that they usually retired secretly victorious.

The French troops, thus harassed with incessant toils; obliged to act on the defensive by night, and unable to accomplish any thing of an offensive nature by day;—deserted by the tribe whom they came to assist, and engaged in an expedition which rendered their situation more perilous in proportion as time advanced, had to retire to Martinico with this reflection, that savage finesse and policy had completely triumphed over European arms.

* That this custom of flattening the head of all their infants prevailed among the original Charaibees, has been uniformly admitted by all; and

headed Charaibees, nearly of an equal age, tall, stout, hardy, and fierce, like their progenitors, quitting their retirement in the forest, boldly came forth, and erected huts, and formed little communities, on the sea-coast. By degrees they claimed a portion of the territory possessed by the red Charaibees; and having learned the use of fire-arms, they found means to procure these engines of destruction from the French trading-ships; but being refused a friendly participation in the landed property, they established themselves as a separate tribe, elected a chief, and once more commenced hostilities against the red Charaibees. The blacks were superior in strength, in valor, and perseverance; and at length, by force of arms, brought their adversaries to terms of accommodation: and they agreed to divide equally the lands situated to the leeward.

At this period of adjustment, the terms of accommodation appeared to be mutually advantageous. An eye to a communication with the French, was the primary object with both parties; and the most likely method that could be adopted, was to place themselves in the most promising situation. As the black Charaibees were superior in strength and personal valor, these terms of accommodation were chiefly of their own dictating; so that, even the lines of demarcation were drawn by themselves; and in their own estimation, without doubt, gave them the most preferable parts.

But as the division which had taken place, was in itself a mere adventure, founded upon a calculation of future intercourse, both parties were under the necessity of courting those invaders who were secretly plotting the inevitable destruction of each. The progress of time convinced them of this important truth, and discovered the folly of those

it is from this custom, in all probability, that the progenitors of this new race acquired the practice. The manner in which it was performed, we have already described in the third chapter of this work.

How unnatural soever the practice may in itself appear, nothing could be better adapted to the purpose for which it was designed,—as an indelible mark of independence,—as a resemblance to the red Charaibees,—and as an insuperable distinction between themselves and their brother Africans, who were then enslaved on nearly the same spot. Anxious to be thought natives of the island, it was, probably, on the same ground, that they abandoned most of their African customs, and adopted the manners of the Charaibees. Their color and features, however, were not to be effaced; these circumstances betrayed their origin; while the customs and usages which they had acquired by their insular residence, probably, obtained for them the title of *black Charaibees*.

intestine wars, which wasted that strength which should have been unitedly exerted in one common cause.

It, however, happened, after a division of the lands had taken place, that the black Charaibees experienced a most mortifying disappointment. For most of the new planters from Europe, and from the French settlements in the West Indies, landed, and settled near the red Charaibees, where the coast is most accessible. This decided preference occasioned a new war, in which the red Charaibees were always defeated, and at length obliged to retire to the windward part of the island. Several of them, however, fled in their canoes to the continent of America, and others to the island of Tobago. As for the few that remained, they lived separately from the blacks, who then became sole masters of all the lands on the leeward shore; and in quality of conquerors, obliged the European planters to re-purchase the lands, for which they had already paid the red Charaibees. A Frenchman, having produced to a black Charaibee chief a deed of some land that he had purchased of a red Charaibee, was told *he did not know what the paper contained*, but, pointing to his own arrow, bade him read there in legible characters, " *that if he did not give him the sum he de-*
" *manded, he would set fire to and burn down his house that*
" *very night*." " In this manner," says Raynal, " did a
" people who had not learned to read, argue with those
" who had derived such consequence from knowing how to
" write. They made use of the right of force, with as much
" assurance, and as little remorse, as if they had been ac-
" quainted with political maxims of state, and the practice
" of some civilized nations."

But the period of their prosperity was of short duration. The French, who had with complacency beheld the two parties destroying each other, had now the satisfaction of seeing one no longer able to resist the encroachments of the other, and of beholding the victorious so far weakened, as to be unable to make any formidable defence against those attacks which were meditating for them. The power, however, which the victorious Charaibees had thus acquired by the total overthrow of their ancient benefactors, was exercised with rigour; and the French settlers had no other alternative, but to re-purchase the lands which they had already bought of the original possessors, or to quit the island. But even a compliance with these severe demands, could afford no real security. A third party, for aught they knew, might succeed to this second, or swarm from it, and demand

from them another purchase on the point of the arrow, as this had done, and leave them perpetually a prey to savage factions.

Notwithstanding these impediments, the French prevailed, by means of continual reinforcements of men and money, and superior skill in agriculture and commercial affairs. So that, in less than twenty years, eight hundred whites and three thousand black slaves were employed in the cultivation of commodities for exportation to the European markets, which yielded the annual sum of one million five hundred thousand French livres, equal to sixty-three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling. Such was the state of the island when it was invaded and conquered by us; to whom it was ceded in perpetuity by the treaty of peace between us and France in 1763.

This, and the other islands surrendered by that treaty to the crown of Great Britain, then assumed in England the title of the "Ceded Islands;" and a commission was sent out with the new British Governors, authorizing them to sell the ceded lands by public sale, to indemnify our government for the heavy expenses of the war. Under this commission, the lands of French proprietors purchased of the Charaibees originally, and those belonging to the Charaibees themselves, were too indiscriminately sold to British planters, who came to settle in these islands from the continent of North America, and from the British islands of Barbadoes and Antigua.

The injustice, of which the French settlers had so much reason to complain in their transactions with the savages, were now to be again repeated by the new masters which the island had acquired.

There were instances in which some of the French settlers had originally bought their lands of the red Charaibees: their defeat and total overthrow had obliged them to re-purchase the same lands of the blacks who succeeded in dominion; their dominion in its turn submitted to that of Britain; and these unfortunate cultivators found themselves once more under the necessity of redeeming, a third time, those fields which their industry had brought from a state of wildness into the highest pitch of cultivation.

To the severity of this law a general languor succeeded. Many abandoned their plantations and the island together, and sought an asylum in St. Martin's, in Martinico, and Guadaloupe. Several more fled to St. Lucia, where an offer of lands was held out, upon the enticing condition of

an engagement to cultivate them. Many, however, still remained. The resolutions which had been formed in the first paroxysm of passion, in many instances, gave place to the more deliberate dictates of reason. A refusal to submit to the severe terms of their conquerors formed but one branch of consideration; they were still alive, and their existence here below, must be supported in this island or in another; and it became a subject of momentous inquiry, whether it would not still be more advantageous to purchase their own cultivated lands, than to retire into the deserts of St. Lucia, and commence the toils of some years before they could reap the rewards which they pursued.

They well knew that the British government had acquired a stability in St. Vincent's, which that of St. Lucia could not promise; the island had been ceded to Great Britain by the articles of peace, in perpetual sovereignty; and, therefore, they had little to fear, in future, from those revolutions which always render property both questionable and insecure. To their native country they felt but little attachment. The neglect which that country had shewn towards them in these distant regions, had obliterated their gratitude, and nearly cancelled all obligations. Their kindred, from whom they had been separated for a series of years, had nearly lost all place in their affections; their attachments had branched into new directions, and taken root in a land which was now placed under the dominion of its latest conquerors.

Such were the lights in which they viewed their situation, when the sallies of passion had given place to cool deliberation; and such were the modes of reasoning which, finally, determined them to submit to apparent wrongs, which, by attempting to shun, they could not wholly avoid. The black Charaibees, in the meanwhile, were in a similar or worse predicament. They had, by their valor and perseverance, obtained an entire dominion in the island, and were now placed in nearly the same situation, to which they had obliged both the red Charaibees and the French settlers to submit; and were thus compelled to yield, in their turns, to those conditions of severity, which they had so readily imposed upon others.

But while these observations lead, apparently, to reflections on our government, we must remark, that had the royal instructions contained in the commission been strictly observed, the lands belonging to the Charaibees would have been held sacred and inviolable; for the commissioners

appointed to sell the lands, properly belonging to the crown, were strictly enjoined " not to molest them in their posses-" sions, nor to attempt any survey of their country, without " previous and express orders from home, sanctioning such " a measure." The publication of these instructions throughout the island, by the Governor, was but badly relished by the new settlers. They, in conjunction with their correspondents, the West India merchants, in London, aimed at nothing less than the possession of the whole territory of the island; on which prospect, likewise, considerable sums of money had been borrowed in our wealthy metropolis, at high interest, on speculation, under the idea of immense profits, from its future cultivation. These circumstances gave rise to repeated remonstrances from the new settlers to our ministry, complaining of restrictions and limited boundaries, which prevented extensive cultivation, to the great detriment of the commerce and prosperity of the island. A tedious negociation was the result, as our government justly suspected, that the avarice of the planters and the merchants had nothing less in view, than a total extirpation of the unfortunate Charaibees at some future period.

At length, impatient of restraint, and irritated by disappointment, the planters, resident in the island, came to a resolution, in the year 1771, to carry into execution their lucrative plans. Hitherto, cultivation had not extended beyond the river Yambore; and it appears, that they had now obtained the sanction of government, in some shape or other, for grants of lands beyond that boundary. Attempts were accordingly made to take possession of them, which were most resolutely opposed by the Charaibees. This resistance was construed into a declaration of war, or an act of rebellion against the British government, and occasioned on our part the commencement of hostilities. It was in the month of April 1772, that orders were issued from home, to send two regiments from North America, to join the troops that could be spared from the neighbouring West India Islands. These, in concurrence with his Majesty's ships on the station, were to reduce the Charaibees to a due submission to the British government in the island; or, if that became impracticable, through the obstinacy and incorrigibleness of the Charaibees, they were to transport them to such place as should be deemed by the Governor and Council most convenient for their reception, and best calculated to secure

the colony from any future attempts on their part to disturb the tranquillity of the European inhabitants.*

† This expedition was carried on under the direction of Major-General Dalrymple, who distinguished himself considerably on the occasion, uniting together valor with prudence. Yet, with these essential requisites in a commander-in-chief, he was not able before the month of February, 1773, to effect the humiliation of the Charaibees.—Indeed, the wilderness state of the country, the inclemency of the season, together with the wisdom of the Charaibees in carefully avoiding an engagement, concurred to prolong the issue of the war.

They stood chiefly on the defensive, continually skulking in slender parties, suddenly rushing from the thicket on the unwary passengers, and surprizing outposts on the smallest probability of success.

In the mean time, an inquiry was set on foot in Parliament by the opponents of Lord North's administration, respecting the nature, justice, and propriety of the motives which gave rise to this singular and extraordinary expedition.

This inquiry was, however, reluctantly submitted to by the ministry. And after a tedious investigation, it was, finally, resolved, that the measure was founded in injustice,

* The Charaibees, finding themselves attacked in their dearly-bought possessions, remonstrated on their parts against that apparent injustice, which had, according to their views, instituted robbery under the sanction of law. They disowned the authority of all the potentates in Europe; and absolutely denied their right to demand that allegiance, which they attempted to exact. They claimed the country by right of conquest, and by holding it in actual possession for near a century.

If, however, the argument founded upon conquest contained any validity, it was evidently as good for the British as for them; and, consequently, the same principle upon which their claim was founded, was that which deprived them of their possession. In short, *the right of conquest*, when viewed in the abstract, can be considered as nothing more than a softer name for *the rights of injustice*. It is a right which power claims over weakness; and is in itself nothing more than an artificial term, which gives sanction to oppression, and establishes robbery by law.

But whether the claim be in itself good or bad, it was as valid in behalf of the Charaibees as in behalf of the English; and when to this we add, that undisturbed possession which they had held of the island, it must be admitted, that they had a better title than any nation of the world, except the red Charaibees, could produce.

† The following authentic and impartial narrative of the interesting transactions of the civil war, between the British planters, and other white inhabitants, and the Charaibees, was communicated to the author, by a pious and indefatigable minister of the gospel, a Missionary from our Society, who resided in the island during the whole term of the dreadful contest.

and reflected dishonor on the national character; as being, apparently, a violation of the natural rights of mankind, and totally subversive of that liberty it gloried to defend. This conclusion was productive of immediate orders to the principal conductors of the expedition, to suspend hostilities against the Charaibees, and to negociate a treaty with them on reasonable terms.

These orders arrived opportunely for the Charaibees, who, in all probability, must have surrendered at discretion, or have been cut to pieces, in a very few days. Surrounded by sea and land, their circle of action became every day more contracted; they were cut off from their great source of subsistence, by fishing; and their bodies, worn down by continual watching and fatigue, demonstrated that war had reduced them to the last extremity.

In obedience to his instructions, General Dalrymple made overtures of peace, which were joyfully embraced by the enemy. The following is the substance of the treaty, as appears in the St. Vincent's Gazette, of February 27, 1773.

Art. I. All hostile proceedings are to cease, and a firm and lasting peace and friendship to succeed.

Art. II. The Charaibees shall acknowledge his Majesty to be the rightful Sovereign of the island and domain of St. Vincent; take an oath of fidelity to him as their King; promise absolute submission to his will; and lay down their arms.

Art. III. They shall submit themselves to the laws and obedience of his Majesty's government; and the Governor shall have power to enact such further regulations for the public advantage as shall be convenient. (This article only respects their transactions with his Majesty's subjects, not being Indians; their intercourse and customs with each other in the quarters allotted them, not being affected by it.) And all new regulations are to receive the approbation of his Majesty's Governor before carried into execution.

Art. IV. A portion of lands, hereafter mentioned, shall be allotted for the residence of the Charaibees, viz. from the river *Byera* to Point *Espagniol*, on the one side, and from the river *Analibou* to *Espagniol* on the other side, according to lines to be drawn by his Majesty's surveyors, from the sources of the rivers to the tops of the mountains. The rest of the lands, formerly inhabited by the Charaibees, for the future, to belong entirely to his Majesty.

Art. V. Those lands not to be alienated, either by sale,

lease, or otherwise, but to persons properly authorized by his Majesty to receive them.

Art. VI. Roads, ports, batteries, and communications shall be made, as his Majesty pleases.

Art. VII. No undue intercourse with the French islands shall be allowed.

Art. VIII. Runaway slaves in the possession of the Charaibees, are to be delivered up; and endeavors used to discover and apprehend all others; and an engagement shall be entered into, not to encourage, receive, or harbor in future, any slave whatever; a forfeiture of lands shall be the penalty for harboring them; and carrying them off the island shall be considered a capital crime.

Art. IX. Persons guilty of capital crimes against the English, are to be delivered up.

Art. X. In time of danger, the Charaibees are to be aiding and assisting his Majesty's subjects against their enemies.

Art. XI. The three chains to belong and remain to his Majesty.

Art. XII. All conspiracies and plots against his Majesty, or his government, are to be made known to his Governor, or other civil magistrate.

Art. XIII. Leave, if required, to be given to the Charaibees to depart this island, with their families and properties, with assistance in their transportation.

Art. XIV. Free access to the quarters allowed to the Charaibees, to be given to persons properly empowered to go in pursuit of runaway slaves; and safe conduct afforded them.

Art. XV. Deserters from his Majesty's service, if any, and runaway slaves from the French, to be delivered up, in order that they may be returned to their masters.

Art. XVI. The chiefs of the different quarters are to render an account of the names and numbers of the inhabitants of their several districts.

Art. XVII. The chiefs, and other Charaibees, inhabitants, are to attend the Governor, when required, for his Majesty's service.

Art. XVIII. All possible facility, consistent with the laws of Great Britain, is to be afforded to the Charaibees in the sale of their produce, and in their trade to the different British islands.

Art. XIX. Entire liberty of fishing, as well on the

coast of St. Vincent, as at the neighbouring quays, to be allowed them.

Art. XX. In all cases, when the Charaibees conceive themselves injured by his Majesty's subjects, or other persons, and are desirous of having reference to the laws, or to the civil magistrates, an agent, being one of his Majesty's natural born subjects, may be employed by themselves, or, if more agreeable, at his Majesty's cost.

Art. XXI. No strangers, or white persons, are to be permitted to settle among the Charaibees, without permission obtained in writing from the Governor.

Art. XXII. These articles subscribed to and observed, the Charaibees are to be pardoned, secured, and fixed in their property, according to his Majesty's directions given, and all past offences are to be forgotten.

Art. XXIII. After the signing of this treaty, should any of the Charaibees refuse to observe the conditions of it, they are to be considered and treated as enemies by both parties; and the most effectual means are to be used to reduce them.

Art. XXIV. The Charaibees shall take the following oath, viz. We, A. B. do swear, in the name of the immortal God and Christ Jesus, that we will bear true allegiance to his Majesty, George III. of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith; and that we will pay due obedience to the laws of Great Britain, and the island of St. Vincent; and will well and truly observe every article of the treaty concluded between his said Majesty and the Charaibees; and we do acknowledge, that his said Majesty is rightful Lord and Sovereign of all the island of St. Vincent, and that the lands held by us, the Charaibees, are granted through his Majesty's clemency.

On the part of his Majesty,
W. DALRYMPLE.

On the part of the Charaibees,
JEAN BAPTISTE, DUFONT, &c. (28 in all.)

A slight degree of attention to the articles which compose this treaty, will discover an indulgence in administration toward the Charaibees, that demanded returns very different from those which they afterwards manifested. However impure and mercenary the motives might have been which gave rise to the war, they were superseded in the course of it, by principles more mild and equitable. It

entirely changed its object and its measures. It was no longer a wasting and destructive engine in the hands of sordid and avaricious planters, but terminated in a necessary evil; a momentary weapon of defence, made use of by a generous nation, who have often been known to prefer honor and justice, to the regards of interest, and the spoils of oppression.

The most fertile and beautiful part of the country was ceded to the Charaibees in perpetuity. They were enrolled among the subjects of Great Britain, and, consequently, entitled to every immunity and privilege her constitution could bestow. Every necessary precaution was taken to secure their liberty and their happiness. In fine, every candid and unbiassed reader will acknowledge, that enough was done to eradicate their prejudices and prepossessions against us, and to attach them to our country, not only by policy but affection.

The planters, on the defeat of their intentions respecting the transportation of the Charaibees, considered a residence among them unpleasant, if not dangerous, while any remains of animosity subsisted. They, therefore, adopted a mode of conduct towards them different from any they had observed at any former period; so that, instead of manifesting any hostility, they endeavored, by a constant and uniform civility, to make them friends, and to conciliate their esteem.

The Charaibees, on the other hand, made professions of perpetuating this infant amity, and regretted, with apparent contrition, the existence of former feuds, wishing with much solicitude, that the cancelling hand of oblivion might pass over them.

But with what little sincerity these appearances were put on, the earliest opportunity demonstrated. This presented itself in 1779, when the French possessed themselves of the island, without the loss of an individual, or the discharge of a single musket. At this period, high dissentions subsisted between Governor Morris and the inhabitants of the island. The Assembly was dissolved by his orders, and the space of time allotted for the continuance of the militia act had just expired. To prevent any bad consequences attendant on this circumstance, the Governor issued a commission of array. This was, unfortunately, little attended to; for the principal proprietors became so far the devotees of resentment, as to give notice to those immediately in their employ, that should they attend to any alarm during the present posture of affairs, they should assuredly be dismissed from

their service. In the mean time, Lieutenant-Colonel Etherington, of the Royal Americans, arrived from Europe with a number of raw recruits, for the protection of the colony. But, instead of disciplining his troops, and attending to the state of the fortifications, which had been hitherto shamefully neglected by his predecessors in authority, he kept his men almost constantly employed (about eighteen miles from Kingston) in felling timber, and clearing an estate he had by some means or other obtained from Chatoyer, a Charaibee chief. Here it is necessary to observe, that at this period, notwithstanding frequent intelligence had reached Governor Morris, of the hostile intentions of the enemy,—the capture of Dominica,—and the arrival of a certain description of persons at Grande Sable, concealed and protected by the Charaibees, who, at the same time, were amply supplied with arms and ammunition from St. Lucia and Martinico,—yet, such was the infatuation which pervaded all ranks, and so prevalent was the influence of party, that the general good was totally neglected; and interest and liberty were offered up on the altar of pique and resentment.

The Count D'Estaing and the Marquis De Bouille, then at Martinico, obtaining a knowledge of these circumstances, adopted such measures, as might derive from them the advantages for which they wished. A Monsieur Du Percin La Roche was charged with a secret commission to the Charaibees. He accomplished a private landing in their country; and, to his great satisfaction, found them ready to co-operate with the French against the English.

At a moment's warning, which both encouraged and facilitated a descent upon the island, they declared themselves in readiness to shake off the British yoke, and to abandon altogether their union with that power to which, but six years before, they had sworn allegiance and inviolable attachment. Even the plan of operation appears to have been concerted; and they anticipated with pleasure the arrival of that moment, which should enable them to drop the mask, and give full vent to that rancour which still gnawed in their hearts. Immediately on the arrival of the French, it seems, they were to commence hostilities in their own quarter, to make an open avowal of their partiality for them, and proceed to join them without delay. A defection so great, and an avowal so astonishing, it was natural to expect, would throw the English into the utmost consternation; and, in the midst of the confusion thus occasioned, cause victory to decide in behalf of the invaders and insurgents.

During the agitation of this business, a Monsieur Gelfrier, a respectable French gentleman, enamoured with our constitution, gave information respecting the Charaibees harbouring of improper persons, and complotting with them. In consequence of this suggestion, a party went out to discover whether such a thing existed or not. On their arrival at Grande Sable, they affected to insinuate that their visit was solely the result of friendship; and, under that character, they entered such huts as were most suspected. But the Charaibees were too wily to be detected by the deception, and displayed great address in defeating the intention of their visitants. They observed with great coldness and reserve, that they were sorry they could not, without violating their customs, make their visit agreeable; that it was a particular season among the women, and men were debarred the liberty of their apartments. This pretext served as a screen to cover the retreat of the emissaries from Martinico, who, in the interim, escaped from those sacred chambers unnoticed, until at too great a distance to be overtaken.

These secret emissaries, in the meanwhile, confident of the alliance which they had formed with the rebellious savages, found means to escape to Martinico with the intelligence of their success. Sensible, at the same time, that some suspicions were entertained by our people of an impending descent, it became necessary to hasten the expedition, lest the favorable moment should pass by, neglected and unimproved.

The fortifications in a ruinous condition, the troops undisciplined, and civil dissensions prevailing; the friendship of the Charaibees obtained, and no preparations made in the island for its defence, afforded such a combination of inviting circumstances, as perfectly prohibited all delay. Time, which both shuts and opens the avenues that lead to empire, might, with them, be productive of the most fatal mischiefs. The suspicions which were already entertained of the fidelity of the Charaibees, might soon prevent their co-operation, and, finally, disconcert all their measures. And, therefore, that the alarm which this circumstance would occasion, might not have time to throw difficulties in the way, immediate preparations were made at Martinico to invade the island.

On the morning of June 16, 1779, about nine o'clock, three sloops of war appeared off Calliaqua, without shewing any colors; and came to an anchor in Young's Bay. Many of the planters in that neighbourhood were so possessed with

the idea of their being merchant-ships that were expected from Antigua to take in sugars, that they absolutely prevented the gunner of Hyde's Point battery from firing an alarm, though he repeatedly pronounced them enemies. One of them even attempted to go on board, and did not perceive his mistake until it was too late to retire. He was then obliged to surrender himself a prisoner, and attend to the mortifying information, "That they were well informed "of the weakness of our situation, and of the dissensions "which subsisted among us—that they were in no wise ap- "prehensive of a repulse, as they knew previously to their "departure from Martinico, that the key belonging to the "magazine at Wilkie's battery was lost; consequently, that "they incurred no danger in running down for the harbor; "and, furthermore, that we had no militia, and that the "principal part of the soldiery were employed by the "Colonel in the cultivation of his estate."

During the disembarkation of these troops, Laroche, who had preconcerted the whole of this affair with the Charaibees, landed in their country with a few men, and communicated without delay the watch-word of revolt. They immediately repaired to his standard with alacrity, and began to exercise on the English residing on their boundary the most flagrant acts of insolence and cruelty. Plunder, violence, and murder, marked the first transports of their career; nor are we led to suppose they would have moderated their conduct, had they not been checked by their more moderate friends, the French, who directed their operations.

While Laroche, at the head of these faithless and unprincipled revolters, awed and overrun the windward part of the country, and obliged every Englishman to flee from his abode, a Monsieur Rumaine, with the main body, consisting of about three hundred troops, marched from Young's Bay directly towards Kingston. What can be urged in extenuation of Colonel Etherington's conduct on this occasion?

Governor Morris, with a few others, were of opinion, that it was possible from Zion Hill, with one or two pieces of ordnance, to keep the enemy at bay, until the arrival of our troops from the leeward. We might then, with every probability of success, risk an engagement; as the enemy were uncommonly ill appointed, extremely shabby in appearance, and their resources inadequate to a contest of many days. Agreeably to these conclusions, hasty entrenchments were thrown up, some field pieces pointed, and such

measures adopted as must in the execution have operated to our advantage. But Colonel Etherington no sooner saw the French were disposed to advance and attack him, than he censured the resolution of the Governor and his party as the result of inexperience and temerity; ordered the position to be evacuated instantaneously, and retreated to the fort. There he ingloriously sued to the enemy for conditions, which his gallantry and conduct might have reversed; while personal address and bravery might have enabled him to inflict on them a severe punishment, if not a final defeat. Thus did the French avail themselves of the defenceless state of the island, and obtain submission without the trouble of conquest. Thus did St. Vincent's, which had been ceded to Great Britain in perpetuity, through the progress of those revolutions in dominion which are attendant upon war, become once more a colony of France. Thus, also, did these ungrateful allies and subjects, the Charaibees, conspire against the crown and dignity of their rightful Sovereign, to whose generosity they owed both their liberties and their lives. It was the voice of his humanity that had reached them across the Atlantic, and had recalled them from the victorious sword, amidst the horrors of war, which had devoted them to destruction. It was from that munificence which bestowed upon them the immunities of Britons, that they had derived the power which they now so perfidiously prostituted, and against which they now lifted the arm of rebellion. What punishment did not such baseness and perfidy deserve?

The mother-country, at this period, engaged in hostilities with three of the most potent nations in Europe, and in maintaining her sovereignty in America, did not feel herself in a condition to retake the island, and to indulge those resentments against the Charaibees, which she could not but have pointedly felt. And when, on the cessation of hostilities, these savages were again in her power, humanity triumphed over vengeance, and permitted compassion to spare those victims whom the sword of justice might have destroyed. Such deeds confer national honor; they are adorned with laurels which shall continue to flourish, when those which bloom only by being steeped in human blood, shall wither over those deeds of inhumanity from which they derived their being. During the four years in which the island was under the influence of French politics and power, a variety of excesses were committed against the English inhabitants by these barbarians. Their behavior toward them, on all

occasions, betrayed their deep-rooted enmity and aversion: and had not the generous conquerors curbed their resentment, and restrained, with laudable attention, their sanguinary dispositions, they would in all probability have gratified their vengeance, by rendering the country a scene of massacre and carnage.

The maxim, that where cruelty discovers itself, pusillanimity lies concealed, and waits only for an occasion to be detected, was never more fully and extensively verified than by the Charaibees, in the year 1783; when, in consequence of the definitive treaty between the courts of London and Paris, *St. Vincent's* was restored, and the French garrisons withdrawn.

During the period of suspense, while attending on report, their anxiety appeared to be extreme. But when their fears became realized, and they had nothing farther to hope, they precipitately retired to their country, greatly alarmed lest the English, on the resumption of authority, should retribute their disloyalty. Nor had they resolution for some months to venture within their reach; and even then, when time had somewhat dissipated their fears, they behaved with the greatest caution and reserve. At first, a few canoes timidly touched at Calliaqua and Kingston, with their usual articles of traffic; and that every idea of hostility might remain in oblivion, they appeared without any description of arms whatever, bowing in the most submissive manner, as they passed through the streets, to any Englishman who seemed to notice them. Thus, by degrees, they acquired confidence, and regained their wonted habits of intimacy and intercourse.

CHAP. XXII.

HISTORY OF ST. VINCENT'S

(Continued).

Occasion, Progress, and Disasters of the late Charaib War minutely detailed.—Various Vicissitudes and Reverses of Fortune alternately experienced by the contending Parties.

FROM the evacuation of the island by the French, to the commencement of the revolution in France, the treacherous Charaibees put on the smoothest political exterior, and, as early as they could with a good grace, professed themselves enraptured admirers of the mild and benevolent constitution of Great Britain; and strange as it may appear, notwithstanding past events, they were as successful in imposing on the credulous inhabitants, as they had been in the former war. What contributed to procure reception of apparent sincerity for real hypocrisy and masquerade, was, that the planters, with all the zeal peculiar to self-interest, wished to engage their friendship by every possible means within their reach. They permitted them to fish in their rivers and ponds, to build huts on their estates, to raise stock, and cultivate provision-grounds; they interested themselves too, frequently, in indefensible causes, and shielded them from justice when they deserved its penalties. In fine, their partiality was so conspicuous, that the poorer and lower classes of white inhabitants complained of it as a grievance, which they wished to have removed.

Thus basking in the sunshine of general favor, and tasting the sweets of that situation, they were not tempted to forfeit it, before the doctrines of republicanism reached Martinico, to the annihilation of all order and tranquillity among the inhabitants. Being in the habits of trading thither, the Charaibees imported thence those impoisoning principles, which have since been productive of so much mischief in the world. In this early stage of affairs, they discovered nothing

farther than a gloominess of aspect, and reservedness of behavior. But this, on the defeat of General Bruce's expedition, was changed into a haughty and imperious mien, indicating an end to their former wavering and uncertain purposes, and the resoluteness of every future design. However, the success of the succeeding campaign, under the auspices of Sir Charles Grey, smothered in their infancy any resolutions they might have in contemplation unfriendly to the interests of the colony. Like the wary pilot, who, on leaving the harbor, and discovering the gathering storm, immediately returns again for protection from its rage; so the Charaibees, on seeing our arms everywhere victorious, no longer affected to be shy or unsocial; but, with all their peculiar craft, availed themselves of every opportunity of intercourse, and were most assiduous in enlarging their circle of acquaintance and familiarity. They always found the mask convenient, when self-interest was concerned; and exceedingly disagreeable on a reverse of circumstances.

The reverse of circumstances which ensued on the arrival of *Victor Hugues* at *Point à Petre*, in the island of Guadaloupe, and the success of his arms, changed the complexion of their conduct once more, and encouraged them to lay aside, in a great measure, their borrowed countenances. This infamous Robespierrian zealot, bloated with the inhuman and wide-wasting principles of the democratic system, no sooner saw himself in a condition of not only maintaining his new conquests, but also of extending them, than he flattered his hopes with fruition, by embroiling every colony in his neighbourhood, and rendering them the theatres of internal war. To accomplish this truly Satanic project, he employed a number of confidential emissaries, whom he instructed to introduce themselves secretly into our islands, to sow the seeds of insurrection and revolt. And when they conceived themselves sufficiently entitled, they were to demand a reinforcement, with which he would supply them, and repeat it from time to time, as necessity might urge. Those islands were first attempted, where French inhabitants were known to reside. Such were *St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent's*, and *Dominica;* in which places the scheme was embraced by many with all the avidity of enthusiasm, especially by the Charaibees, whose share in endeavoring the extirpation of the English in St. Vincent's, I am more immediately concerned to relate. The agents of Hugues first opened their credentials among their countrymen, and practised on them; and, through their medium, on the

Charaibees. It appears from certain and well authenticated information, that they invited them in the name of the glorious French republic, as friends and citizens, to accept of liberty and equality! to rouse themselves from inglorious sloth, and assert the natural prerogatives of men: said they, "Behold your chains! forged and imposed by the hands of "the tyrannical English: blush! and break those ensigns "of disgrace! spurn them with becoming indignation! rise "in a moment; and while we assist you from motives of "the purest philanthropy and zeal for the happiness of all "nations, fall on these despots! extirpate them from the "country! and restore yourselves, your wives, and children, "to the inheritance of your fathers, whose spirits from the "grave will lead on your ranks, inspire you with fury, and "help you to be revenged."

An address of this tendency was grateful to the prejudices and passions of the Charaibees. They replied,—"They "were flattered and obliged by those professions of friend-"ship vouchsafed them from the French republic; they "were sensible of their oppressions, and felt uneasy beneath "them; and delayed hostilities on no other account, but "because they wanted a sufficient quantity of military stores "to support the first avowal of their intentions; on the "receipt of these, they would most cheerfully co-operate "with their friends and allies, the delegates of the republic, "in promoting her influence, and the establishment of their "own rights."

It will be readily understood from a former hint, that the French inhabitants, who had taken the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, were the agents, through whose interference this business reached its present altitude. The first proposals of Hugues from Guadaloupe were instantly adopted as their own; and while in possession of every immunity the mild and benevolent government they were under could bestow, and sharing the confidence and friendship of their neighbours, they were sinking a mine, pregnant with destruction, to blow them up in an instant.

The outlines of the conspiracy will afford some resemblance of the picture they are intended to pourtray. It was, finally, agreed, that arms and ammunition should be sent from Guadaloupe as early as possible—that on the night of the 17th of March, 1794, the Charaibees of the leeward parts of the island, under the direction of Chatoyer, and those of the windward, under that of Devalle, should proceed to Kingston, and there unite their forces with their

confederates, the French; and that, without commiserating either age or sex, they should, during the hour of tranquillity, massacre all the whites. They were then to proceed in all directions throughout the country, and exterminate every individual composing that class devoted to the sword. Mulattoes, and black domestics, suspected of fidelity to their masters, were included in these instructions.

But God, who overruleth the designs of impotent mortals, and maintains his right in the administration of terrestrial affairs, blasted their prospects, and brought to light their hidden works of darkness before the time. Information respecting the insurrection in *Grenada* arrived on the 5th of March; when his Excellency, Governor Seton, after advising with his Council, ordered an alarm to be fired. The militia were immediately under arms, and in the evening appeared on the parade. They were there reviewed by the Governor, and pathetically exhorted, in case of necessity, to defend themselves with resolution, and render their characters worthy of distinction among their countrymen; assuring them, at the same time, that no exertions should be wanting on his part, consistent with the duty of that station which he had the honor to fill. It was deemed expedient, that a division of the militia should take place. One half were to remain on their several plantations, to maintain order and regularity, and promote the incumbent pursuits of industry; the other half were to do duty on Berkshire Hill, during a certain number of days, when they were to be relieved by the former, and so on in rotation. The Queen's company to windward, and the Chateaubellair company to leeward, were excepted in this arrangement. They were left to guard their respective boundaries; and to forward to head-quarters any intimations respecting the Charaibees' motions, who, by this time began to be suspected. On the following day, a planter, with his family, arrived in town from Mariaqua, who informed the Governor and Council, that he had been strongly urged by a neighbouring Charaibee to withdraw himself from the island without delay, as it was the unanimous intention of his countrymen to proclaim war against the English within three days, and that they purposed the extermination of every individual. This intelligence induced the Governor to dispatch one of his aids-de-camps to that quarter, to obtain from the Charaibees what information he could on that subject, and by their channels to send an order to the chiefs of Grande Sable, to repair to Kingston on the Tuesday following.

The report of this gentleman on his return was, That the Charaibees to whom he addressed himself, expressed the utmost surprize at the suspicions entertained against them—"They had," they said, "been once already deceived by the "French; and their misconduct during the last war we had "generously cancelled, and, since the peace, had displayed "toward them the utmost kindness and humanity. No "possible advantage could arise by their making war against "us, and no pardon could be expected should they attempt "it. They could not answer for those who resided at *Grande* "*Sable* and *Rabaccaw*, not living in habits of intimacy "with them; but could not discover, in any wise, that they "intended to interrupt the tranquillity of the colony." They seemed disinclined to convey any message whatever to the windward chiefs,* urging, in apology, the misunderstanding subsisting between them; however, on a considerable reward being promised, they consented. On the succeeding day, two of those who held this conversation returned; observing, that "They had seriously revolved in their minds the con-"ference of yesterday, and were still of opinion, that the "Charaibees had no intention of breaking with the English. "But should the generality of them adopt a measure so "absurd, they implored protection for themselves, their "wives, and little ones, as they could not think of rendering "themselves so detestable as to unite against us." Yet, on the Tuesday following, these very men were foremost in attacking, plundering, and demolishing the very plantations where they had, with the greatest apparent sincerity, made these professions, and where they had resided in ease and affluence for more than ten years.

On Sunday evening, in consequence of information that the Charaibees in Mariaqua, in conjunction with the French in that neighbourhood, were committing some devastations on the estate of a French lady, who, with her family, was considered as well affected to us, a detachment of the militia, and a small party of volunteers, with some armed negroes, were ordered out, under the command of Captain Seton (the Governor's son), to apprehend, if possible, the perpetrators. Late in the night, they fell in with some Charaib and French huts, which were illuminated, and

* Chatoyer and Duvalle, two Charaib chiefs residing on the northern extremity of the island, received a summons on the Sunday, to come to town the Tuesday following. Their answer was, "It is too late: it ought "to have been sent sooner."

seemed to be the abodes of cabal and rebellion. Men, women, and children, were rioting on the ill-gotten spoils of the day. Before they could be properly surrounded numbers of them escaped. Only eighteen were made prisoners, many of whom had in their hats and caps the French national cockade; and upon searching the houses, arms and ammunition were found. Yet still, with respect to open and avowed hostilities on the part of the Charaibees, the majority of the community had taken no active part.

On Monday, the Captain of the windward militia sent word, that he had received intelligence, that an attack was meditated on that part of the country, by the whole body of the Charaibees; and requested immediate assistance. Lieutenant M'Dowell was ordered to reinforce him with a detachment of twenty-two militia men from town; these were joined by twelve volunteers, and set forward about seven o'clock in the evening, well mounted, and in high spirits. Some time in the night they reached Captain Morgan's, where they halted until the morning; when it was resolved, that the troop should proceed to the boundary of the Charaibees, and demand a declaration of their intentions. On reaching the estate of Mr. Forbes, they were told that the enemy had already set fire to the dwelling-house of Mr. Gilchrist, with the adjoining cane-fields; the truth of which was soon confirmed by the ascending smoke and flames. The troop advanced with all possible dispatch, in order to check the progress of the destroyers; but they were very warmly fired upon out of the cane pieces. Being in a narrow range of high canes, in a valley surrounded by hills on every side, it was thought expedient to retreat, until a more advantageous situation could be obtained; but perceiving the number of the enemy increase every moment, they returned to Captain Morgan, and joined the detachment under his command. Here it was deliberated what measures were necessary on the occasion; and a variety of circumstances determined them to proceed to Kingston without delay. When they had advanced as far as *Massarica* river, they saw posted before them, on a ridge which commanded the road, a body of Charaibees, who, on perceiving our detachments halt on their march, took off their hats and waved them, bowing at the same time with all the marks of sincere attachment. These appearances imposed so far on some of the party, that they pronounced them friends, and encouraged the rest to go forward; but as soon as the perfidious villains perceived that they were completely exposed to their fire, they opened

upon them a most tremendous volley of musketry, which they maintained with unabating ardor. It was proposed by some of our party to advance and charge them; which while they were preparing to do, they were attacked in their rear by another body of the enemy. Nothing now remained in this very critical and perilous situation, but to retreat in the best manner possible; accordingly, every man effected it as he could, some on horseback, and some on foot. In this unsuccessful expedition, sixteen persons fell in battle, the greatest part of them the most promising young men in the colony. Those who were wounded, or made prisoners, received no quarter, but were murdered with every circumstance of savage barbarity. Some had their legs and arms cut off, while the living trunks were left writhing in agonies of pain; others were mangled and cut up in a manner too shocking to relate.

This fatal event produced a scene too tragical and melancholy for description to attempt delineating. Our defeated and disheartened troop, in their precipitate and disorderly flight to Kingston, communicated to all the inhabitants of the windward country, as they passed, terror and dismay. The alarm was sudden and irresistible. In a moment, both whites and blacks abandoned their abodes, leaving behind them almost every thing they possessed, being no farther solicitous than to hasten from the present rapidly approaching ruin.

The Charaibees, inflated with success, and encouraged by the prevailing timidity of all descriptions of people, seemed to invoke the demon of destruction to mark their progress. No white man was permitted to survive his discovery. Children at the breast were torn from their mothers, and divided into quarters before their eyes. The rich and fertile fields of cane were as stubble before the raging and wide wasting flames. The seats of opulence, convenience, and beauty, together with the humble sheds of servitude and penury, were indiscriminately devoted to the unpitying element. Tuesday and Wednesday were employed in carrying these ravages as far as *Calliaqua*. Early on Thursday morning they reached *Dorsetshire Hill;* and after pulling down and trampling under foot the British standard, they hoisted and displayed in its stead the tricolored flag of the French republic.

While these proceedings were taking place to windward, under the ruthless and sanguinary direction of Duvalle, the leeward conspirators under Chatoyer (who was Commander-

in-chief) were not less active; though, probably, from an expectation of acquiring the permanent possession of that part of the country, they did not commit the same devastations that marked the rapid and unmeaning progress of the former.

They arrived at Chateaubellair on Tuesday morning, where they were joined by all the French inhabitants of that neighbourhood, who embarked in the cause with the utmost eagerness and zeal. In a moment they resolved to cancel every obligation they were under for a repeated series of lavish acts of British generosity; they became *jackalls* to the Charaibees; they started the game for them to hunt and run down to death.

On the morning of the commencement of rapine and murder in this neighbourhood, they made prisoners of three white young men, of amiable manners and genteel connexions, whom they carried along with them in triumph to Dorsetshire Hill. Here they kept them in suspense till the Saturday following, when they were ordered out by Chatoyer, and massacred in the most shocking manner.

Great were the exertions of the French and Charaibees, while they maintained their position on Dorsetshire Hill. Without procrastinating a moment, they availed themselves of every possible measure of safety and success within their reach. A supply of provisions and liquors was laid up, being a part of the produce of their recent spoils. With infinite labor and difficulty, they dragged from *Stubb's Bay* battery, two pieces of ordnance, (one six and one four pounder) which they got completely mounted by Saturday night.

At the same time, it is but barely doing justice, to make honorable mention of Governor Seton's most satisfactory conduct, throughout this gloomy and tempestuous season of distress. On the earliest intimation of danger, he removed with the most valuable and important papers in his possession to the fort on *Berkshire Hill*, and proceeded to carry on the necessary fortifications with the utmost assiduity and application. Provision was also made to secure the town; for the safety of which, the generality were under the most serious apprehensions. To prevent the enemy's too near approaches, orders were issued, that the surrounding canes; to a certain distance, should be immediately burned. A post was, likewise, established on *Sion Hill*, to block up every accessible avenue in that direction. A very vigilant and well attended guard of the militia was maintained in the town

itself; and, on the adjoining plantations, armed negroes were stationed all around, to communicate an alarm on the smallest dubious appearance of danger.

Too great precautions could not have been taken; for the Charaibees were frequently seen on the estates belonging to Messrs. Kean and Sharpe; and once, a small party proceeded as far as the Government-house; none of which situations are at so great a distance as six furlongs from Kingston.

During these transactions, Captain Newton, of the artillery, and Major Whytell, of the militia, who maintained the position on Sion Hill, annoyed the enemy considerably, and kept them greatly in awe, by scattering among them shot and shell, which they played upon their camp night and day successively.

The melancholy gloom which overshadowed our prospects, was in some degree dissipated on Wednesday morning, by the landing of Captain Campbell, with a company of the forty-sixth regiment, from Martinico. On the following day, the arrival of Captain Skinner, of the Zebra sloop of war, still diminished the remaining shades; but the anchoring of Captain M'Iver in the road, on Saturday, in his Majesty's ship the Roebuck, revived our hopes.

These reinforcements came very opportunely; as the apparent superiority of the enemy began to shake the fidelity of the negroes, and to tempt them to abandon our weak and defenceless standard. Besides, having got their guns in readiness, the French and Charaibees waited only for the morning to play upon our camp at Sion Hill, and on the town; from both of which places we must have instantly fled. These circumstances, in connexion with others of a similar tendency, rendered it expedient to attempt dislodging them by storm, without any farther loss of time. Accordingly, every precaution was taken and every disposition made by the Governor that could possibly insure success. At the solemn and solitary hour of midnight, at the house of Mr. Hartley, on Sion Hill, the party formed. Captain Skinner, of the Zebra, to whom the command was given, led the van, with detachments of sailors and marines landed from his own vessel, and from the Roebuck. Lieutenants Hill and Groves followed, with what sailors could be conveniently collected from the different merchant-ships in the road. The company of the forty-sixth, under Captain Carry, came next; and Major Whytell and Captain Campbell brought up the rear with a number of the militia, and with some armed negroes, in whom they could confide.

This brave and gallant little company, with the utmost alacrity received orders to march; and at a quarter of an hour after midnight, in the preceding order, they began to ascend the winding and rugged path, and were enabled to advance within eighty yards of the main post without being perceived. The vigilance of the enemy could no longer be eluded; they were almost at once discovered, challenged, and fired upon. The effects of surprize were hardly perceptible in their manner of receiving us. They were immediately under arms, raised a most tremendous and appalling yell, and came out in vast numbers to sustain the assault; pouring among us, at the same time, a brisk and well continued shower of musketry. Nothing could exceed the intrepidity displayed by our officers and men on this occasion; they received the enemy's fire without returning a single shot, till they had approached within twenty yards of them; when Captain Skinner gave orders for every man to discharge his piece, and make a charge. He immediately set the example with his first Lieutenant, Mr. Hill, by mounting the bank and rushing on. Captain Campbell of the forty-sixth, and Major Whytell, did the same in another situation. The men all followed, and commenced the bloody, but, in this instance, the necessary business of the bayonet. In about fifteen minutes the fate of the hill became determined; the enemy fled in all directions; and through the darkness of the night numbers of them effected their escape; many sheltered themselves in the buildings still standing, whither they were pursued; and all who shewed any disposition to resist were put to the sword.

In this attack, considering how greatly superior the enemy were in numbers; the very eligible situation they occupied; their recent succession of victories; their various and well sustained discharges of musketry; it is little less than miraculous that our loss was not greater. We had only five men killed and four wounded; among the latter was Lieutenant Hill, of the Zebra, whose gallant conduct during the whole of the action entitled him to a crown of laurels.

On the side of the enemy, several of the French and Charaibees lay dead on the field. Among the latter was the infamous Chatoyer, generalissimo of all the forces acting against us. Cruelty, rather than courage, had always been the leading principle of his conduct. He, therefore, fell unregretted, in single combat with the brave Major Leeth, of the militia. There was found upon him a silver gorget, presented to him by his Royal Highness Prince William

Henry, on a visit he paid to St. Vincent's during the Prince's residence on the West India station.

This blow was not more unexpected than effectual. The French were instantly panic-struck; and, despairing of any farther success, no longer united with the Charaibees. On the contrary, they in general forsook them, and endeavored, with the utmost possible secrecy and celerity, to reach *Lyon*. From thence, it is supposed, they meditated an escape; or flattered themselves it was practicable to impose on the credulous English once more, by affecting a neutrality. However, they were unsuccessful in their retreat; for the negroes who still remained on the plantations through which they were obliged to pass, being apprized of their defeat, lay lurking for their prey, and intercepted great numbers; among whom was the secretary of the conspiracy, Monsieur Dumont. These distinguished champions of equality, a few days after their apprehension, were most deservedly hanged, and their bodies towed out beyond the harbor, and committed to the flood. For the same cause, a similar sentence was executed on about twenty others. The Charaibees, in the mean time, were not less alarmed; the fate of Chatoyer was severely felt by every individual among them, and their boldness and intrepidity evidently forsook them. Confounded and dismayed, they retreated towards their own country; wishing, no doubt, that they had never commenced the undertaking. Had there been troops sufficient to have pursued this advantage, a rapidity of success would, in all probability, have ensued, and the destruction of the enemy have been accomplished without delay; but our resources were so inadequate, that the attempt was wholly impracticable.

It was, however, conceived, that some good effects might result from arming such negroes as might be depended on, and sending them in pursuit of the fugitives, with orders to kill, or make prisoners of, as many of them as possible. In pursuance of this resolution, a requisition was immediately made; and more than two hundred volunteers attended at the ordnance yard, where arms and ammunition were to be issued. They received them accordingly, and set out about ten o'clock in the forenoon, breathing nothing but vengeance and slaughter. The return of this expedition, which was in the evening, exhibited a scene truly affecting. It consisted of men pinioned, wounded, and bloody, goaded on by the point of the bayonet, and of delicate females, with dishevelled hair and naked bosoms, their feet bare and unprotected;

some with lovely infants in their arms swooning into death. Their victorious captors, at the same time, rending the air with shouts and acclamations, indulged the most barbarous and savage joy. Among these sons and daughters of misfortune, not a Charaibee was to be seen, for they fled the approach of the negroes wherever they came. They consisted of different descriptions of French people, inhabiting *Calliaqua*, and its vicinity; whose houses were stripped and plundered of every article. Indeed, plunder was the principal object of the negroes in this pursuit; nor did they hesitate at any cruelties to obtain it. So wholly unprincipled were they, and unconcerned with regard to the interest of their masters, that they made no distinction between French and English property; when an opportunity offered, one was as little spared as the other.

The Governor and Council now discovered that expeditions of this description did not tend to promote the general good, or to restore tranquillity to the colony. They were marked with cruelty, hurried on with disorder, and inspired by rapacity; they, therefore, prohibited them in future, unless carried on with greater uniformity, and so directed as to facilitate the wished-for end.

By this time the Charaibees had, in some degree, recovered from their panic, and began to shew themselves again in the neighbourhood of Calliaqua. They soon formed three camps contiguously pitched, between it and the wood-clad high grounds, about three miles distant from the British encampment on Sion Hill. From these strong holds they were seen to issue every day in small and various parties, and to range the ruined and depopulated country; sometimes to forage, at other times to reconnoitre. Once they were so daringly resolute, in defiance of our guns, as to advance to the very base of Sion Hill, and set fire to the sugar-works on Greathead's estate, which were totally consumed in a few hours.

The fleet which had been so long and so anxiously expected was reported to have arrived on the 30th of March. The receipt of this news was diffusive of general joy. Pleasure seemed to inspire every individual. All looked forward to a period just approaching, for the consummation of their wishes. But owing to some delay, no assistance reached the island before the 5th of April, when two transports arrived from Martinico, under convoy of the Montague, of seventy-four guns, with the forty-sixth regiment, which

was landed next morning. The soldiers marched immediately to Berkshire Hill, their appointed quarters.

The troops were landed under every possible advantage. Three years' residence in Gibraltar had prepared them for the rigors of the climate in which they had to act. They were, apparently, in possession of the highest health and spirits; and shouts and acclamations from all descriptions of society, hailed them on their arrival.

They entertained the greatest contempt for the enemy, and desired most ardently to be led against them. They had only to perform a march of about four miles, and the militia were ready to co-operate with them. The suddenness of their appearance, with the uncertainty of their numbers, must have operated on the fears of the Charaibees, and unavoidably confused them. Nor were the enemy, at that time, in possession of any ordnance, to give a feature of difficulty to the undertaking. Thus, a combination of reasons seems to have urged and encouraged an immediate attack. However, it was procrastinated till the 10th, when it was resolved upon to storm the Charaib camp. In pursuance of this resolution, the necessary dispositions were made. Captain Campbell, of the forty-sixth, at the head of the grenadiers, was to make the attack. In case of success, Captain Hall, with the light infantry, was to intercept the enemy's retreat toward Calliaqua, in one direction; and Colonel Loman, of the militia, with his men, and with a detachment of sailors from on board the Roebuck, was to perform the same service in another. Agreeably to this plan of operation, the different parties marched for their respective destinations about ten o'clock at night, and reached them about one in the morning. It is conjectured, that the enemy had early and accurate information of what was going forward. The extraordinary vigilance of their centinels, and their spirited reception of our troops, justify the supposition. For hardly had the light infantry stationed themselves, before they were discovered, challenged, and fired upon. The compliment was instantly returned with uncommon warmth; and a very smart engagement commenced. But from the superior number of the attacked, and the damage sustained by the arms of our men in marching through heavy and successive rains, we were obliged for some moments to fall back, or at least hesitate in the assault. During this interchange of hostilities, Colonel Loman, with the militia and sailors, was within a few moments march of reaching their intended position, when the

word of retreat was given, unnecessarily and unexpectedly, by some unknown person in the advanced files. A sudden and invincible panic seems to have pervaded all the ranks; disorder and confusion succeeded; the van fell back upon the rear with such impetuosity, that many were thrown down and trampled upon; nor did they conceive themselves secure, until they had regained Kingston, which they accomplished early the next morning.

The retreat of the light infantry was but of short duration; they were opportunely supported by Captain Campbell, who that moment came up with the grenadiers of the 46th; and by Lieutenant Farquharson, with twenty-two men of the third battalion of the sixtieth. The whole charged the enemy with such determined bravery, that nothing could withstand them: they fled on all sides with the utmost precipitation.

After the troops had taken some necessary refreshment, and demolished the different encampments of the enemy, they proceeded immediately to the barrack-ground above Calliaqua, where they entrenched themselves, and in some degree set limits to the depredations and excesses of the savage and barbarous foe.

These successes inspired us with the hope of obtaining more; and conceiving that reinforcements were necessary to carry on our operations with energy, a temporary suspension took place. To procure these reinforcements, it was determined to arm a quota of slaves on every plantation throughout the island. Each negro, on receiving arms, was to be appraised; and in case any mischance befel him during the period of his military services, the colony became amenable to his owner for the amount of the appraisements. Five hundred were immediately put in requisition, and within a few days were produced on the parade. Their officers were appointed out of the different regiments of militia. The first in rank was to be a Colonel, and so down to an Ensign. Provision was also made to discipline them. To that end, a Serjeant belonging to the regulars was attached to each corps; and it is but justice to say, that they evinced a susceptibility of instruction beyond what could be expected. Within a few weeks they well nigh lost their native awkwardness, and acquitted themselves in the discharge of their duty rather beyond, than on this side of mediocrity.

The settlement of Du Valle, the Charaibee chief, situated on the northern extremity of the island, was considered as a

proper object of an expedition, as well to divide the force of the enemy, as to annoy them. On Saturday, the 25th of April, two armed schooners sailed from Kingston with the following troops on board, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Seton, who was to direct the operations of the attack; viz. one Serjeant and three privates of the royal artillery, Lieutenant Groves, with thirty-three sailors belonging to the Roebuck, and two Lieutenants, one Ensign, five Serjeants, and sixty-four rank and file of the rangers, or black troops. These were reinforced at Chateaubellair with a small detachment of the forty-sixth regiment, commanded by Ensign Lee. Early on the morning of the 26th, they sailed for the destined scene of action, and attempted a landing in the rear of the houses, and of some batteries which looked toward the sea; but, owing to the ignorance of the guides, it was found impracticable to ascend the rugged acclivity in that direction, as they could not discover any vestiges of a path. Lieutenant-Colonel Seton instantly reconnoitred the situation, and saw it was impossible to make the attack in any other place than in front of the houses and batteries. Therefore, under cover of the armed vessels, though exposed to an incessant fire of grape shot and small arms from the enemy, they effected a landing; and without the loss of a moment formed themselves beneath the shelter of a cliff. Now, the storming of the batteries became the general outcry; and their gallant commander led them on with uncommon ardor and intrepidity. The path by which they ascended was angular; consequently, having their swivels placed at certain angles, the assailants must have been frequently liable to flanking. In addition to this, numbers of huge and massy rocks were precipitated upon them from on high, very much to their annoyance; however, from their brave perseverance, every opposition was surmounted, and victory was obtained. The houses were plundered and devoted to the flames; vast quantities of provisions were also destroyed; but what must have rendered the defeat doubly formidable, was the loss of sixteen canoes, and four swivels, which were found on the batteries. The enemy's loss in men could not easily be ascertained, as they adopted the old custom of carrying off their dead and wounded.

Our loss on this occasion was less than might be expected, considering the several difficulties attending the enterprize. It consisted of three seamen killed, and ten wounded, three

rank and file of the forty-sixth wounded, and six of the rangers.

During these transactions, the Brigands, who had survived the storming of the three camps on the 10th of April, together with the *Mariaqua* and windward Charaibees, and those English and French negroes who joined them, assembled on the *Vigie*, and commenced throwing up fortifications; which, in a few weeks, appeared from Dorsetshire Hill, (the distance, in a direct line, about four miles) regularly designed, and otherwise respectable. About this time, a report was circulated, that a reinforcement was arrived from *Guadaloupe*, to assist them in maintaining this position. The authenticity of it was doubted by some, while more were inclined to be credulous.

On the 7th of May, about nine o'clock in the morning, the appearance of the enemy in great numbers was rather alarming. More than one thousand, as was supposed, appeared descending the hills, in nine distinct columns, directing their course toward our camp at *Calliaqua*, then maintained by the Honorable Captain Molesworth, of the forty-sixth, with one hundred regulars, and nearly as many rangers. On their advancing within range of the guns, a six-pounder was discharged upon them, which occasioned their halting. After reconnoitring the camp, and deliberating some small space of time, they beat a parley, and sent in a flag of truce, which was borne by a young French officer. He said, "he "was instructed by the General commanding yonder na- "tional troops, to desire the British Commander to surrender "himself and his men prisoners, for the time being. They "should, in consequence, be transported to any other "English island where the flag of liberty was not unfurled; "but they could not be permitted, by any means, to remain "in St. Vincent's: his according to this proposal would "entitle him to indulgence; his refusal, provoke an imme- "diate assault, the consequences of which he could not be "answerable for." These conditions of capitulation were received by Captain Molesworth, as they deserved, with the utmost contempt. He replied, "that he could depend upon "his men; that he did not despair of defending himself, "and would do so to the last extremity; having, therefore, "taken this resolution, he would not listen to any proposals "derogatory to the character of a British officer." With this answer the flag departed; but returned again in less than an hour, and, exultingly remarking on Captain Moles-

worth's temerity, "exhorted him not to provoke an attack, "as he was too feeble to resist; observing, that he came "to make the last overtures he was to expect; viz. that he "was permitted to march unmolested to Kingston, provided "he laid down his arms, and left the camp as it then was, "with all the ammunition and military stores it contained." This message was as ill fated as its predecessor; Captain Molesworth bravely refusing to comply.

In compassion to the frailty of human nature, I am almost tempted to conceal the intention of the enemy, in proposing to our people this last preliminary of capitulation. Yet, how much soever she may blush for her degraded and perfidious offspring, truth requires the development of their diabolical and sanguinary scheme.

In case our men had delivered up their arms and marched from their encampment, the troops of the Republic would have received them, and marched in. All this would have been perfectly consistent with the terms proposed and accepted; but in the mean time, their allies, the Charaibees, had concealed themselves in the mill and negro-houses belonging to Sir William Young, near to which they were to pass in their way to Kingston; where not one of them would ever have arrived. Unarmed and unprotected, they must have fallen victims to the savage cruelty of a concealed foe.

The French projectors of this perfidious and sanguinary plot, could have easily exculpated themselves from any charge that might be brought against them, by disclaiming all connexion with the Charaibees, and retorting upon their enemies; by calling upon the rest of mankind to judge how ungenerous and illiberal it was, to represent them as the perpetrators of a crime wholly chargeable on others.

But the steady and determined conduct of the British Commander totally defeated their expectations, and prevented those consequences, to which, through their inhuman stratagems, both he and his little army would have been inevitably exposed.

Providentially, while the above negociations were on foot, the Alarm frigate appeared in sight. On the earliest intimations of the enemy's descent from the Vigie, she got under weigh in Kingston harbor, and stood for Calliaqua. In less than an hour she came to an anchor contiguous to the camp, and poured a whole broadside upon the foe, with such well-directed aim, that it was said to have done con-

siderable execution among them. On her repetition of these discharges, and landing one hundred and thirty sailors, they scampered away with the utmost expedition, seemingly disposed to return to the Vigie. During this transaction, a detachment of the regulars, and another of the militia, commanded by Captain Hall, were ordered to take post on Dorsetshire Hill, to secure more effectually the safety of the town. About one o'clock the next morning, the outposts were attacked with an impetuosity superior to any thing that had ever been experienced from the Charaibees. The fact was, that not one of them was concerned; the onset owed its vigour to the united efforts of the French troops lately arrived, and the disaffected negroes and mulattoes of the island. Nothing could exceed the bravery wherewith they were opposed by our men; but it soon became expedient to retreat, and join the main body, a disposition having been made to cut them off. In effecting this junction they were very closely pursued, when an exceedingly warm engagement commenced, which lasted for the space of half an hour. By this time our ammunition was well nigh expended; and the assailants, like a torrent, came pouring in their numbers to the charge. To prolong resistance would have been rashness and not courage; the hill was, therefore, immediately abandoned. What rendered this circumstance the more alarming was, that a six pounder, in the tumult and hurry, had been left behind unspiked, which might have desolated the camp on Sion Hill in the morning, and have driven every inhabitant from the town.

During the attack, the regulars and rangers on Berkshire Hill, with all the militia in town, were drawn up, and lay on their arms, waiting in suspense the result of the conflict. When that was clearly understood, Captain Forster, of the forty-sixth, with a detachment from the battalion, the grenadier and light infantry companies of that regiment, Major Seton, with a detachment of the rangers, and Major Whytell, with the greatest part of the militia, were ordered to march directly against the enemy, and obtain, if possible, a repossession of the hill.

About break of day, the whole force had gained the summit of the hill without being perceived by the enemy. At length we came, challenged, and fired upon them. They were not tardy in returning the compliment; but instantly rushed forward, rending the air with their hostile

huzzas. However, after a sharp conflict of two hours, the hill was repossessed by our troops.

So forcible were the ideas of danger entertained by the enemy in the moment, that they fled with such incautious haste, that numbers of them precipitated themselves headlong from the tops of rocks and precipices, and were dashed to pieces in the fall. Forty-eight lay dead on the spot, nineteen of whom were whites. But the prisoners who were taken amounted to no more than five.

CHAP. XXIII.

HISTORY OF ST. VINCENT'S

(Continued.)

Progress of the late Charaib War, continued in minute Detail.—Occasional Incidents, and Development of human Character.—Extraordinary Instance of Intrepidity and Perseverance in a Slave.—The Arrival of Reinforcements in a Moment of general Consternation and Danger.

THE victory recorded at the close of the preceding chapter contributed greatly to diminish the audacity of the enemy, while it inspired our troops with additional ardor and intrepidity: acclamations of triumph ran rapidly from hill to hill; and joy sat visibly enthroned in every countenance. The language made use of by the Psalmist, to express the general felicity of the Jews, on the termination of their captivity in Babylon, and the restoration of their liberties in their native country, is best calculated to describe the sensations of every bosom on this occasion. "When "the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were "like them that dream; then was our mouth filled with "laughter, and our tongue with singing." Psalm, cxxvi. v. 1, &c.

On this morning, so auspicious to the British arms, the defeated enemy reached the *Vigie*, and began to fortify and strengthen it still more, with the most unwearied diligence. Each succeeding day afforded new proofs of their perseverance. In all probability, they calculated on a visit from us, and, accordingly, were making provision for our reception. For the purposes of an encampment, nature had been peculiarly friendly to the situation they had chosen. The hill itself was about one hundred yards in length, and twenty in breadth, bounded almost wholly by vallies, hardly passable. This was maintained as the citadel, or dernier resort, and was barricaded all around, with sugar-hogsheads filled

with clay and sand; these they collected from the different dismantled plantations which had been subject to their ravages. Within musket-shot, towards the north-west point, rose to a considerable height another little conical hill, which became their first redoubt, and promised to be very serviceable, as it rendered difficult any approaches to the main position, in the direction which was easiest of access. About cannon-shot, nearly the same way, lay another hill, which overlooked the road coming from Kingston, in the most commanding manner. This was their advanced post, or outward piquet guard. During these defensive proceedings on their side, we were carrying on the necessary fortifications on Dorsetshire Hill, in order to secure its future possession. Its importance became daily more conspicuous. The town stood in such a relation to it, as to be unavoidably involved with it, in the issue of things.

Such was the complexion of affairs on both sides, when a circumstance occurred, which will serve to add another feature to the portrait we are necessitated to draw of Charaib inhumanity. From the time that this worse than Vandal race had been first repulsed, the leeward country remained perfectly tranquil. Colonel Gordon, with the Chateaubellair militia, strictly guarded the boundary, and carried on the cultivation of the estates as usual. One day, while the manager of Mr. Grant's plantation was employed with the negroes in the distillation of rum, unsuspicious of any danger, in a moment, the Charaibees, who lay concealed in an adjoining wood, rushed from the thicket like beasts of prey, cut off the retreat of the unhappy manager; and, massacring him, set fire to the buildings; and, after committing a variety of other depredatory acts, returned to their fastnesses in the mountains.

About this period, they seemed delighted with every opportunity of slaughter and devastation. Hitherto they had carried themselves towards the negroes in a very wily and politic manner. They had offered them liberty, and exhorted them to receive it; but, happily for the inhabitants, the proposal, however flattering, was rejected with disdain. Comparatively, very few espoused their interests; while a considerable number opposed them, well accoutred, and either gallantly fell, or triumphed with their masters.

In consequence of this inflexibility of conduct in the negroes, they became equally the objects of detestation with their owners; immediate death was inflicted on all who fell into the hands of the Charaibees. The great scarcity of

provisions, which prevailed among many hundreds of those poor creatures pent up in town, impelled them to adventure beyond our lines into the country in quest of fruits, roots, and vegetables, to alleviate the hardships of their situation as much as possible. Those excursions of necessity proved fatal to many; as numbers were taken and destroyed.

About this period, a detachment of one hundred men, belonging to Major Malcomb's corps of rangers, arrived from Martinico; and, also, on the ensuing day, the third battalion of the sixtieth regiment, consisting of six hundred men, well appointed, commanded by the very gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Ritchie.

These men were, originally, destined for *Demerara*, with an intention to secure that colony for the Prince of Orange; but, in consequence of the Governor representing the tranquillity and unanimity of the whole colony, and the probability of dissatisfaction arising in the minds of many, on the disembarkation of foreign troops; they proceeded to Martinico, from whence they were ordered to St. Vincent's, by General Vaughan.

Every thing being now in readiness to carry into execution the long meditated attack upon the Vigie,—on the night of the 11th of June, the troops marched through the town; and halted about ten o'clock at Warawarow River, within about four English miles of the theatre of destination. They were composed of detachments from the forty-sixth and sixtieth regiments, Malcomb's, and the Island Rangers; almost all the southern and windward regiments of militia, and the Royal Artillery; the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton, of the forty-sixth.

The troops being divided into four distinct corps, and each Commander having received his plan of operation, they proceeded; and marched in such directions as to have the enemy completely invested by break of day. It was necessary, in order to command the Vigie, to possess ourselves of the two redoubts I have described in a former stage of this narrative; and it was a circumstance peculiarly auspicious to our affairs this day, that both these places were held by the Charaibees. The westernmost, which overlooks the road coming from town, was first attacked, and carried almost without opposition. The pusillanimous Charaibees, who were entrusted with its defence, betaking themselves to flight on the earliest intimation of an enemy. The British troops, with an alacrity becoming their ancient character, pursued this advantage with such promptitude, that they

entered the other redoubt immediately after the fugitives, and obtained it with as little difficulty as the former. Many of the Charaibees, in this early stage of the action, ran off directly, and effected their escape; those who could not, took refuge in the Vigie.

The French were so sensible of the loss they sustained in the reduction of those positions, that to regain their occupancy, they sallied forth from the main camp in great seeming ferocity, to charge our brave men, who, in all probability, must have severely felt the shock of such a determined attack. But, perceiving they were liable to be flanked by one of our corps just approaching, they relinquished their design, and retreated within their works; commencing a heavy cannonade against us, accompanied with an uninterrupted discharge of musketry. Never did troops display greater gallantry than did the British militia and rangers on this occasion. The whole seemed as if actuated by one soul. Two six pounders, from adjacent situations, were directed against the batteries and works of the enemy, with unabating perseverance. Early in the attack a mortar was brought forward, which scattered its destructive materials among them with considerable annoyance, while the smaller arms kept up an uninterrupted discharge.

Thus was victory undecided for about the space of five hours, when the shot, necessary to supply their great guns, became expended; and most of those who were acquainted with their management, were either killed or wounded. In consequence of this change of circumstances, their resistance gradually diminished; until, at length, they found it expedient to beat the *chamade*, which occasioned a momentary suspension of hostilities on our side; when a shabby-looking man, in the character of an officer, made his appearance, and approached, intimating by his gesticulations, a wish to obtain an audience. Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton immediately indulged him with an interview, through the medium of Lieutenant Lee, who spoke the French language with great facility.

He observed, "He was instructed by his General to "propose to the English Commander, an immediate evacu- "ation of the Vigie, with all its stores and furniture, pro- "vided he might be permitted to bury his dead, and march "with his troops, carrying their arms and wounded with "them, to the Charaib country unmolested." Colonel Leighton replied, "He would not admit of any conditions "whatever; That the French General must make a dis-

" cretionary surrender, and rely on the British clemency; or " withstand the storm he intended to attempt, the very " moment he rejoined his friends." During this interval of negociation, the enemy endeavored to steal away unperceived. The object of it was to amuse us, and obtain time; but before they could accomplish the witty scheme, the bugle-horn sounded for the charge; which was performed with uncommon alertness. Only two or three of the national troops tarried to receive our mercy; the rest, stimulated by fear, obstinacy, or perhaps by hope, encountered every difficulty, and dashed through all manner of danger, like men wholly influenced by despair. Numbers perished in consequence of this temerity; while others escaped captivity, if not the ignominy of execution, which was the justly-awarded punishment of every inhabitant carrying arms.

The scene which presented itself on entering the Vigie could not easily be surveyed with a tearless eye, unless the breast of the spectator was wholly inaccessible to sensibility. Here lay a leg, and there an arm! Now the foot strikes against the shattered fragments of a head! or, with difficulty, disengages itself from adhering entrails! Yonder is discerned a breathless, disfigured form; while the wounded and dying pour, in every direction, their languishing groans upon the listening ear! O war! thou direful scourge of angry heaven! how disastrous is thy course! thou threatening precursor of plague, pestilence, and famine! Guilty must be the land which thou art commissioned to scourge! Oh, that the people were wise to observe the signs of the times! To hear the rod, and him who hath appointed it. When the judgments of the Lord are abroad in the earth, the inhabitants thereof should learn righteousness.

The prisoners made on this occasion were exceedingly few. The principal among them were two gentlemen, whose history (as far as information may be depended upon) may not be unacceptable to the reader.

The name of the former was Monsieur Souhallet. It is said, he was by birth a Burgundian. He was a private soldier in the Republican army at the re-taking of Toulon; and boasted of having the honor of assisting at the capture of the brave, but unfortunate, General O'Hara. He was one of those democratic desperadoes, who accompanied the adventurous *Hugues* to Guadaloupe, when he surprized the English at *Point a Petre*, and, by a series of victories, restored to the Convention the sovereignty of the whole island. During

those struggles, the subject of our present memoir distinguished himself in such a manner, as to attract the attention of his General, and to exalt him in his estimation. On the earliest probability of reaping an advantage from the insurrections in St. Vincent's, he was sent thither with a reinforcement, invested with the supreme command. Here he commenced his military operations in the fortification of the Vigie. His next object was the reduction of our camp at Calliaqua, the particulars of which attempt have been already given. Defeated in his expected success, by the very seasonable appearance of the Alarm frigate, he immediately directed his views toward Dorsetshire Hill; which he gained and lost the same night. In this enterprize he received a wound in one of his legs; to cure which, he retired to Grande Sable, and only returned a few days previous to his capture. His misfortune was not owing to his misconduct. The circumstances he had to encounter were unpropitious, and he could not reverse them. The courage and activity he displayed in defending himself, and maintaining his situation, reflected considerable honor on his character as a soldier. He was found lying in his tent, severely wounded in several places; and every attention his condition called for was bestowed. After being brought to town, he was conveyed on board his Majesty's ship, the Roebuck; and on his recovery was sent to Martinico, to remain a prisoner of war, until a cartel should be established. His bravery, however, partook of too much ferocity to be admired. His air was too sullen to be dignified, and too imperious to command esteem. He was in possession of qualities superior to his birth; but, unsoftened by humanity, they rendered him more capable of being the tyrant, than the guardian of society.

The other, a doctor, was rather a young man. He was a native of France, and in his appearance exceedingly prepossessing. He only reached the camp the day preceding its attack; and while rendering the General surgical assistance in his tent, he received a mortal wound. Here he was found in dreadful agonies. His sufferings becoming insupportable, he strongly pleaded to be dispatched, but it could not be complied with. He was no longer beheld in the light of an enemy, but commiserated as a child of misfortune, whose case recommended him as a brother.

"No hand withheld the kind relief;
"The tear of pity could not be repress'd."

When the clouds of death hung heavily on his eye-lids, and the pulsations of life beat slowly through each vein, he was withdrawn from this state of existence, exclaiming with the Roman,—" O virtue, I have worshipped thee in vain."

There was found upon him a small manuscript, with directions to address a certain number of prayers each day to the holy and immaculate Mother of our Lord. The performer was flattered thereby to consider himself invulnerable in battle, and secure against the perils of the sea.

Whether the doctor was so far the dupe of superstition, as to confide in this charm or not, I must not pretend to decide. But if he complied with its requisitions, in expectation of obtaining its immunities, his untimely fall must have convinced him, that the worship of the Virgin was as vain and useless, as that worship of virtue which excluded the sole merits and atonement of the blessed Jesus the Redeemer of mankind!

Our killed and wounded were found not to exceed thirty in all; a circumstance not a little surprizing, when we consider the advantageous situation of the enemy, their great numbers, and the duration of the engagement, which could not be less than six hours.

After accomplishing the reduction of this position, Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton deemed it necessary to maintain it, as it greatly contributed to preserve his communication with the town, and to confine the enemy, in that part of the country, to the woods and mountains. The command was given to Captain Cope, of the sixtieth regiment, with about fifty men. This gentleman conceiving his complement inadequate to the defence of a place so capacious, reduced it considerably; providing against the possibilities of war with becoming zeal and application.

On the ensuing morning, the grand army moved with an intention of advancing as expeditiously as possible, to Mount Young—a situation extremely eligible, not only being calculated to answer all the purposes of encamping, but of opening the way immediately into Grande Sable, the long unmolested asylum of the savage and sanguinary Charaibees. It was conjectured, that the march would be disputed, and that many lives would be lost in effecting it; as the irregularity of the country, and the security of the woods, presented the enemy with a variety of opportunities of annoying the troops unperceived. But, owing to the judicious manner in which it was conducted, and the pusillanimity of those who should have opposed us, it was performed without the loss

of an individual, excepting two or three of the privates, who, overcome by fatigue, fell down and expired almost without a groan.

Having thus been crowned with victory, through the gracious providence of God, and having realized our most sanguine expectations,—while we entrenched ourselves on Mount Young, the eastern extremity of the enemy's country, an expedition was undertaken against *Ouia*, an eligible little promontory on the north-west coast, which commanded an easy landing-place, peculiarly adapted to serve their interests, by affording an instantaneous reception to reinforcements and supplies. It was conducted by Major Ecuyer, of the third battalion of the sixtieth regiment. The troops were put on board two droghas belonging to the island, and sailed from Kingston on the 14th, under convoy of the Thorn sloop of war, commanded by Captain Otway. Immediately on coming to an anchor, the enemy began to fire upon the vessels with a four pounder and two wall pieces, which did considerable mischief, one man being killed, and several others wounded. In the interim, one of the boats effected a landing; but met with so warm a reception, that she was obliged to put off again, and regain her vessel. Some time was then devoted to the distribution of grog, which it seems had not been issued at first; to which neglect some of the soldiers attributed their miscarriage. On the conclusion of this ceremony, a second landing was attempted and obtained. The contest was but of short duration. Our troops pushed forward with becoming bravery and resolution, driving the Charaibees from their inglorious shelter, and possessing themselves of the desired situation, without any greater loss than a very few killed and wounded. None of the enemy fell into our hands; but from the quantity of blood which appeared in different places, many must have been wounded, if not killed. These they had address enough to carry off with them, leaving us to conjecture on the loss they had sustained.

The possession of this landing-place gave us a decided advantage over the authors of our misfortunes. They could not calculate on any external resource, every harbor capable of receiving a long-boat being in our possession. Their internal supplies could not hold out many weeks; their own consumption was considerable, and that of our troops at Mount Young immense. Such being the appearance of affairs, we naturally expected each day the arrival of a flag of truce, accompanied with a confession of guilt, and

deprecation of punishment. But the arrival of dispatches at head-quarters from the camp at Chateaubellair advertised us of an event no less surprizing than extraordinary; namely, That the Brigands had found means of avoiding the danger which threatened them in the Charaib country, by effecting a passage across the mountains into their neighbourhood, where they had established a camp, and begun to forage with impunity.

The resolution which gave existence to this measure, though founded in necessity, cannot be too highly applauded. It is one instance among many, which shews, that in the eye of courage, prudence, and perseverance, there are but few insurmountable impediments. Hitherto, Grande Sable had been deemed inaccessible, otherwise than by water, or the windward and leeward roads; in consequence of the prodigious height of the mountains, and these so intersected with gullies and ravines, and cloathed with forests and interweaving underwoods, that the very idea of attempting them might intimidate a mind unquestionably brave.

Somewhat similar to this transaction, was the evacuation of St. Lucia by Brigadier-General Stuart, which opened an easy communication between that island and St. Vincent's; the distance not exceeding six leagues.

The enemy took the earliest opportunity of sending across the channel a Charaib canoe, communicating an exact statement of existing circumstances, and imploring, at the same time, an immediate reinforcement of men, with a supply of military and other stores. The requisition was complied with as expeditiously as possible; and again they were buoyed up with fresh hopes. Their affairs assumed a new appearance; and, conscious of their strength, they shifted their position, and possessed themselves of the next hill to our camp at Chateaubellair. This position was incomparably superior to ours in point of situation, especially in elevation, which might be at least in the proportion of four to two.

On the commencement of the rupture, when it became necessary to establish a post in this neighbourhood, for the preservation of the leeward country, various persons recommended this hill as the most eligible; but on advising with the engineer, he combated the opinion professionally, and pledged himself that no enemy would ever make choice of it. The superiority of his judgement, and an unbounded confidence in it, prevailed; but a very little time served to convince him, and those whom his arguments had biassed, that if we leave advantages in the hands of our enemies,

they will employ them against us, when opportunity makes it practicable.

Immediately on taking this post, the flag *de la liberté* was unfurled, and a small field-piece began to play against our camp, which was brought from St. Lucia by the last reinforcement. It was capable of doing considerable mischief among us; but, happily for our safety, they conceived the shot fell short; so to avoid an unnecessary waste of ammunition, they discontinued firing.

Colonel Gordon, who commanded at Chateaubellair, feeling the aukwardness of his situation, made the earliest representation of it to the Commander-in-chief, who, without loss of time, reinforced him with a detachment from the third battalion of the sixtieth regiment, and another from the southern corps of militia, then on duty in town. The popular Lieutenant-Colonel Provost was appointed to the command.

This gentleman, on his arrival, after reconnoitering the works and situation of the enemy, deliberated in council what was necessary to be done. It was resolved, that an attack was unavoidable; as, in all probability, they aimed at being beforehand with us in that measure.

This resolution once taken, it was necessary to carry it into effect.

Captain Otway, of the Thorne sloop of war, offering his services on the occasion, a detachment of sailors was accordingly landed. To these was joined a detachment of the forty-sixth, and another of the sixtieth, with a few of the northern militia. They composed the storming party, and were to be led on by Lieutenant Moore, of the former regiment. Major Whytell, at the head of the Kingston or southern militia, received orders to conceal himself and them in the rear of their position, to cut off the retreat of the enemy, should they be routed. Toward two o'clock they severally departed for their respective destinations. A little after day-break, the assault was made agreeably to orders, and succeeded; until Lieutenant Moore was wounded, when our troops halted for want of a leader. The enemy, perceiving our disaster, availed themselves thereof with uncommon address. With shouts of animation, they came forward to every little eminence, and kept up an unremitting discharge of small arms. Disorder soon pervaded our ranks; and a flight ensued; wherein we sustained a more than ordinary loss. Many were killed, and a great number wounded; among the former was Mr. Gregg, a gentleman of consider-

able property in the country; but, what was far more estimable, of an irreproachable character and amiable manners. Among the latter, was Lieutenant Moore, a young gentleman of genteel connexions and independent fortune, of great courage, and singularly esteemed by the soldiers, who brought him off at the hazard of their lives. He was carried on board the Thorne, where he suffered much for a few days, and then died.

In the course of the day, a flag of truce was sent to the enemy's camp, requesting the body of Mr. Gregg for interment; but the messenger returned unsuccessful; so impervious were the hearts of those hardened barbarians.

To check their growing consequence in this quarter of the island, the attentive Governor recalled Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton from Mount Young, with the forty-sixth regiment, and a detachment of rangers, and ordered him against them.

This distinguished officer did not proceed immediately to Colonel Gordon's camp, at Chateaubellair, but landed with his men at *Walliabou*, four miles short of it; and, unperceived by the enemy, ascended the heights, and sat down in their rear with two pieces of ordnance. A battery was expeditiously constructed, and every necessary preparation made to open it upon their camp on the morning of the next day; but, aware of the consequence, they abandoned it in the night, eluded our utmost vigilance, and left us to adopt such future measures as we might deem most eligible.

Colonel Leighton pursued them so closely, that they were obliged to leave behind them a small field-piece, which they made surprizing efforts to carry off. After a march of forty-eight hours (not less difficult for the time, than Hannibal's across the Alps) they reached Morne Rhonde, their original position, on coming across the mountains from Grande Sable. Nature, under the direction of the Supreme, seemed as if she intended it should one day be the theatre on which war should act her bloody scenes, by bestowing upon it, with a lavish hand, every essential of a strong hold. It was only accessible in one direction, which lay through an almost impenetrable wood. Colonel Leighton came up soon after, and encamped on an opposite ridge; when the enemy, for the first time, convinced us they were in possession of a mortar, by throwing several shells at us; but, happily, they did no mischief. Immediately on the arrival of our ordnance, they were served in a similar manner; an

interchange of such distant hostilities continuing for some days.

At length, an attack was concluded upon, and carried into execution on the morning of the 4th of July. The forty-sixth regiment, with a detachment of the rangers, under the command of Captain Douglas, of the royal engineers, was ordered on that service. Owing to some cause of delay, the morning found our troops too backward in their march. They were early discovered by the enemy's advanced piquet-guard, who received them in ambush; and, before they could be dislodged, killed and wounded a few of our brave men. In this stage of the action, a most tremendous fire of musketry commenced, which, on the part of the enemy, was silenced by the superior bravery of our troops, who urged on their rapid and determined march, until they reached an advanced redoubt, which was most obstinately disputed for more than an hour. There being no probability of succeeding otherwise than by storm, it was determined to attempt it. Orders were, accordingly, given for a charge; which was so effectually performed, that the enemy scampered off with the utmost precipitation, throwing away their arms, and sheltering themselves in the woods. Their camp contained one four-pounder, one mortar, twenty shells, fifteen barrels of powder, seven thousand cartridges, together with a few casks of musket bullets. Sixteen dead bodies were also found. The Commandant, and Aid-de-camp, of this redoubt were made prisoners, with some others of inferior note. Our loss amounted to fourteen of the forty-sixth, killed and thirty wounded; two rangers killed, and a considerable number wounded.

This success compensated fully for recent disappointments, and promised greatly to facilitate the annihilation of those who had wronged us. Colonel Leighton thought proper to maintain this newly-acquired post; considering it, from its strength and situation, of great importance.

Having accomplished this arduous branch of duty, he returned again to Mount Young, and continued to destroy the provisions of the Charaibees, as usual; and daily penetrated farther into their country. The aspect of affairs appeared to us exceedingly propitious and encouraging; when, all at once, a change was introduced, and a succession of misfortunes ensued.

About this time, Brigadier-General Meyers arrived from Martinico, and succeeded to the command. From this gentleman's character, great things were expected; and it is said,

that by him great things were promised. But, however short-sighted man may build on probabilities, it is frequently the will of Providence, that he should be humbled to the dust. After our new Commander had obtained information concerning the existing situation of affairs, and visited some of the most important posts committed to his care, he seemed resolved to make his first stroke bold and decisive. He ordered Major Ecuyer, who commanded at Ouia, to move on a certain day from that place, and direct his march towards Mount Young; from whence he engaged to proceed with the main army, at the same time, towards Ouia. Consequently, the enemy, lying between, would be obliged to surrender at discretion, or be cut to pieces. All this was plausible, and, for any thing which appears to the contrary, was altogether as practicable. The woods stopping their retreat on the one side, and the sea serving a similar purpose on the other, seemed to place success beyond the reach of doubt. Conformably to his instructions, Major Ecuyer took the field, and obliged the enemy to retire as he advanced. Having gone as far as he thought he might, without exposing himself to be cut off, he waited three or four days in the open air, under arms, for the promised junction of the General. At length, vexed with disappointment, exhausted with fatigue, and forced by the augmented number of the enemy, he returned again to Ouia, and dispatched Captain Law, of the forty-sixth, to head-quarters, to notify what had been done, and to receive further orders. The night succeeding his return to the camp, about one o'clock in the morning, in the midst of a tremendous thunder-storm, he received a complete surprize. Six hundred men attacked him in different directions; and, after about an hour's indiscriminate slaughter, possessed themselves of the place. Here the unfortunate Major fell; as did most of the officers, and numbers of the men. The camp was well supplied with ammunition and provision; two pieces of ordnance, one six, and one four-pounder, were taken. Some of the men effected their escape through the woods to Morne Rhonde; and others were picked up around the shores of that coast by the boats of the Experiment, which were sent by Captain Barrett, on the first rumor of the misfortune, to bring off any that might be found.

The loss of this post proved the loss of many. The very moment the enemy conceived themselves in the tenable possession of it, they dispatched a canoe with the intelligence to St. Lucia, and solicited strongly for an immediate rein-

forcement; that, during the existence of the present consternation of affairs, they might reap the resulting advantages.

The application was honored with the most ready compliance. A few mornings subsequent to the catastrophe, the Captain commanding General Meyers's schooner, stationed off Ouia, arrived in town, with certain information, that on the preceding day four vessels from St. Lucia had anchored in the bay of that place, and landed a reinforcement, which, he supposed, might amount to about five hundred men. In consequence of this intelligence, it was deemed expedient by the Commander-in-chief to evacuate the post of Mount Young; and to this effect, orders were transmitted to Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton, who commanded there. About nine o'clock on the night of the 19th of September 1795, the troops, after having dismantled the works, and destroyed every thing that could not be conveniently brought off, leaving their huts illuminated, marched away with the artillery. The next evening they reached *Biabou,* where a party of Charaibees also made their appearance: these were spies upon the retreat, and waited to avail themselves of any opportunity that might offer to harass the rear. Having brought forward the troops which were stationed there, our detachment reached Zion Hill on the 21st, and were distributed among the several posts encircling the town. General Meyers thought it necessary to maintain the occupancy of the Vigie; but, in the mean time, omitted the throwing-in of provisions, and other stores. The garrison had only the means of subsisting parsimoniously for three days.

On the evening of the 22d, the enemy appeared in great numbers in *Mariaqua Valley;* and, early on the following morning, were found posted on *Fairbain's Ridge,* having completely cut off the communication between the Vigie and the town. The safety of the Vigie became now the object of general concern. Its situation being such as would not admit of delay, eighty mules were loaded with supplies, and set forward, under convoy of Lieutenant-Colonel Ritchie, of the sixtieth. This detachment proceeded from Greathead's house, near Zion Hill, about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th, and continued in the high-way as far as Calliaqua; then turned up in such a direction as to get between the enemy's situation and the object of relief. The design of this measure was, not to engage them, unless it became unavoidable; but to do what was needful to supply the

necessities of our friends. But the enemy, as if aware of the intention, seemed determined to defeat it. They ranged themselves in the path, and took possession of a galba hedge, which, in some measure, flanked our coming up. Here an action commenced. The discharge of musketry was exceedingly brisk on both sides for about the space of three minutes; when our troops gained the summit of the ridge, and obliged the enemy to abandon the hedge and fall back. Captain Foster, of the forty-sixth, who commanded in front, perceiving their declining state, gave orders for an immediate charge: not an individual would obey him: from some unaccountable cause, our men gave way, just in the moment of victory, and fled in different directions, closely pursued by the enemy. The greatest part of the provisions fell into their hands: our loss was estimated at about sixty men killed and taken prisoners. In all probability, the whole detachment would have been cut off, had they not found shelter beneath the guns on Sir William Young's Rock, which were assiduously plied by Major Henry Sharp, to whom great praise is due for his timely exertions on the occasion. Colonel Ritchie, being entirely cut off in his retreat, collected a little band of officers and men, amounting perhaps, in all, to twenty. These he conducted into the mill belonging to Doctor Collins; where they defended themselves for several hours together, with distinguished gallantry, against a very large body of the enemy, who attempted several times to storm them; but they were as frequently repulsed with loss, and, at length, obliged to retire. About midnight, our small party abandoned the mill, and reached Sir William Young's Rock next morning. It is remarkable, that not one of these men, throughout the dangerous and long-sustained assault, received the slightest hurt, except their gallant officer, who was wounded in the leg with a musket-ball, which some time afterwards proved fatal. He was much beloved, and died regretted. He was buried in Kingston, with military honors. To his memory the following epitaph was written:

"Stop, casual visitant. This unassuming stone
"Proclaims the worth of him who lies beneath;
"In whose short life, the virtues all were shown;
"And, though untimely, honor crown'd his death.
"Go thou, like him, and purchase well-earned fame,
"Who, unreluctant, for his country fell;
"And know, before thou goest, to gain a name,
"No means succeed like that of living well."

The consternation and dread, occasioned by the above unhappy defeat, were excessive: an immediate attack on our out-posts was apprehended, which were considerably weakened by the absence of the detachment that was now given over for lost. Besides, as an additional circumstance of distress, the situation of the Vigie was desperate; the want of provisions laid it under the unavoidable necessity of surrendering at discretion, however improbable the expectation of mercy might be in so doing.

The emergency was truly critical; the adoption of one wrong measure might ruin all; however, from the kind interference of Providence, and, under it, from the exertions of ability, such plans were formed and carried into execution, as terminated in the general safety.

The Honorable Captain Molesworth, who commanded at Morne Rhonde, received orders for the evacuation of that post, and, without a moment's procrastination, to repair to town, and contribute toward the strengthening of the surrounding eminences. On the preceding unhappy evening, a large detachment took post on *Baker's* estate, a situation within a quarter of an hour's march of the enemy. Here they remained until it became dark, when they returned to Dorsetshire and Sion hills. This feint very happily produced the end proposed; which was, to divert the attention of the opposite party from the Vigie, and turn it wholly towards the main body. At the same time, a reward of twenty-eight johannes was offered to any person, who would deliver a letter to the officer commanding at the Vigie, with orders to effect an undiscovered evacuation, if possible. Should he be a slave, his liberty was promised. Two men, in the latter predicament, offered themselves, and receiving the necessary dispatches, set out in different directions. One of these messengers succeeded in getting in on the morning of the 26th. The other was obliged to return.

The successful emissary was *Tamaun*, a negro slave. On receiving the letter from General Meyers, he beat thin a piece of lead, in which he enclosed it, and then hung it upon a string around his wrist. First of all, the lead case preserved it from the rain; and, in the next place, in case of detection, its gravity would admit of a sling, and convey the intelligence with it to some undiscovered spot, and render the object of the adventure dubious. Under these precautions, having furnished himself with a bottle of grog, and a little bread and cheese, he proceeded up Kingston valley. About four o'clock in the afternoon he penetrated into *Bowe*

wood, and, during the night, crept along toward *Mariaqua* valley. He narrowly escaped being taken; and nothing but uncommon presence of mind could have prevented it. He found himself toward the morning surrounded, on all sides, with huts; on advancing slowly to the end of one of them, and listening a little, he heard a conversation, which he well knew proceeded from some Charaibees. Revolving in his mind what was to be done, he lay down flat upon his face; when one of the speakers came out, stretched himself, and fell to cutting some wood, which lay at the door, with his cutlass. After some space of time, he returned, and began to kindle up a fire. Our intrepid messenger, aware of his situation, then stole off, unperceived, to the side of a precipice, which he descended, by means of the roots and branches of the trees growing on its side. When the morning began to dawn, he climbed one of the tallest he found, and took a survey of the country, and the coast; by which expedient, he discovered the Vigie to be much nearer than he imagined, and saw his nearest and least dangerous way. About six o'clock the advanced guard received him, and conducted him to the tent of the commanding officer, to whom he delivered his orders; which were, as before observed, to abandon his situation, and effect his retreat to town, in the best manner possible. This was done the same night, at the early hour of seven o'clock, under the cover of a heavy shower of rain. Uninterrupted in their march, they arrived at Calliaqua, where boats were waiting to receive and convey them to Sir William Young's Island and Rock, from whence they were brought down to Kingston next morning. The acquisition of these men, together with those under Captain Molesworth, from Morne Rhonde, who arrived the same day, contributed greatly towards the strengthening of such posts as were conceived to be immediately in danger, and recalled hope to the bosoms of the inhabitants.

The services of Tamaun, on this emergency, ought not to be forgotten. He deserved well of the community! He generously stepped forward, and undertook the execution of a commission, very few would have either solicited, or undertaken, at the time. His steady and unshaken perseverance throughout the whole, bespoke him a man of probity, honor, and courage.

The Vigie becoming once more the possession of the enemy, we were continually harassed with the fear of an attack; therefore, to avoid the effects of a surprize, the

greatest vigilance was observed, and the extremes of duty submitted to by each individual of society. Indeed, the danger appeared so near and so considerable, that it was impossible for the principle of self-preservation to slumber in any breast.

Thus we continued the prey of anxiety, and the subjects of fatigue, until the evening of the 29th, when his Majesty's ship, the Scipio, appeared in sight, with five or six transports, having on board the fortieth, fifty-fourth, and fifty-ninth regiments, under the command of Major-General Irving, who was appointed by his Excellency, General Leigh, to the command. Through the exertions of Captain Barrett, of the Experiment, the greatest part of the reinforcement was landed before eleven o'clock that night. Those who could not be set on shore, in consequence of a prevailing calm, and a rapid current which set to leeward, came in early the next morning, and were all in quarters before noon. Nothing passed in town, of which the enemy was not apprized. Obtaining certain intelligence of an immediate attack being intended, they called in every outpost, and made every possible provision to maintain the occupancy of the Vigie. The necessary preparations being made on our part, Lieutenant-Colonel Strutt, and Colonel Leith, of the Colony Rangers, with a detachment of seven hundred and fifty men, marched on the night of the 1st of October, about ten o'clock, round by Calliaqua, and proceeded to the heights of *Calder*, where they lay concealed in a piece of standing canes, until the commencement of hostilities, and the receipt of further orders.

Major-General Irving, and Brigadier-General Meyers, with the main body, consisting of about one thousand men, (including the artillery, under Major Duvemette) marched about two o'clock from Greathead's house, and proceeded up Warawaroa Valley. At Augur's Pasture, Captain Boland, of the fortieth regiment, was detached with three hundred and fifty men, still farther in that direction, with orders to gain the heights to the westward of the enemy's position, and wait his orders. This was as arduous a duty as could well be performed. In his ascent he was attacked by the enemy. The irregularity of the hill, deeply clothed with large and small wood, exposed him greatly to the galling discharges of their musketry, who made the most of their advantage. However, after a stubborn struggle and considerable loss, he obtained his object.

The two Generals, with the fifty-ninth regiment, gained

Fairbairn's Ridge, about the dawning of the day; from which they drove off a small party of the enemy, and continued to ascend, with the artillery, in regular order. They proposed to themselves a similar object with that of the preceding corps; which was, an establishment on the Vigie Ridge, to enable them successfully to exercise the ordnance against that fortification; but the enemy, aware of their intention, possessed themselves of an exceedingly advantageous spot. It was a little eminence on the summit, covered with a very thick wood: here they threw up some works hastily; and, perfectly regardless of the superior numbers which threatened them with instant annihilation, they opposed their ascent with a warmth of musketry, which seemed prophetic of the inflexibility of conduct maintained by them, with unremitting perseverance, throughout the remainder of the day.

Almost the whole power of the enemy was stationed here; and toward the possession of this place all our exertions were directed. But above two-thirds of the army carried out, were no more than idle spectators. The seven hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Strutt, never received any orders whatever. Subsequent to the difficult and well performed service of the morning, the detachment under Captain Boland did nothing, though within musket-shot of the enemy, and, in some sort, on an equality of situation with them, having gained the summit of the ridge in their first success. The fifty-ninth, with Major M'Cleod at their head, were offered up alone on the altar of military indiscretion. They were kept from morning until night, without the shadow of a diversion in their favor, climbing up an almost inaccessible mountain's side, rendered still more difficult by a succession of exceedingly heavy showers, and exposed to the well-directed aim of a secure and sheltered enemy. At length, darkness coming on, hostilities declined, and totally subsided by seven o'clock; when our Generals, with the loss in killed and wounded of a hundred men, without effecting any thing, ordered an instantaneous retreat, and led back to quarters very nearly two thousand experienced troops, ambitious of rendering services to their country, and who, but a few hours before, were flushed with the expectation of victory.

It appears from information well authenticated, that the force which opposed us did not exceed seven hundred men; that, at the time our British Scipios retreated, their ammunition was nearly expended; and that they expected no less than to be stormed as soon as the darkness became

sufficient to facilitate the measure. In consonance with this apprehension of their danger, they acted accordingly. In the same moment that our troops began to retreat, so did they; the position of the day, with the Vigie, were abandoned, and, it seems, so precipitately, that the guns of the latter place were left unspiked; and, in every respect, the Vigie appeared as it was when we left it.

The cause which rendered this day so inauspicious to our hopes, while it renders conjecture unnecessary, affords not a little room for animadversion. That a few men, surrounded by numbers, should avail themselves of the earliest opportunity of extricating themselves, is not at all surprizing; but, that numbers surrounding a few, should ingloriously retire, without the shadow of a pretext to silence occasioned censure, is a novelty in war: 'tis strange; 'tis wonderful! 'tis passing strange! but this is altogether an age of phenomena.

A true story, in this stage of the narrative, may not be deemed improper. A very undistinguished character in the island (save for inebriety), to indulge his curiosity, proceeded early in the morning of the engagement, to the scene of action, and remained out of harm's way, near the staff, until orders were given to retreat. He then joined a serjeant, and nine or ten men, belonging to the fifth regiment; who, owing to whatever cause, missed their road; and in wandering up and down, accidentally fell in with a negro, who undertook to conduct them to town. But the negro, being in the interest of the enemy, betrayed them into the Vigie, with an intention of delivering them up. Perceiving his mistake, he suddenly withdrew, and made after his fugitive brethren; while our new commander, with his myrmidons, took possession of the garrison, in the name of his Majesty King George the third, and maintained it unmolested until the morning; when an account of its evacuation reached General Irving, who ordered out a party of rangers, under the direction of Lieutenant Kelley, to take possession of it. On advancing toward the outworks, he was called upon to approach no nearer at his peril. Here a short explanation took place; when it was agreed upon by the present occupant in office, to admit him, on condition of signing a receipt for the place; which proposal, it is said, was acceded to, and the British flag was displayed.

Here a delay of several days took place, while inactivity and unsteadiness seemed to pervade every measure. It was nothing uncommon to hear the orders of yesterday counter-

acted by those of to-day. There was no end of adopting and repudiating plans. During this reign of disgraceful imbecility, the enemy had time to dispatch a canoe to St. Lucia, and obtain a supply of ammunition, and other necessaries, which determined them to entrench themselves on Mount Young and Mount William, and wait our coming on. About the 16th, the army sat down opposite those positions on Forbes's Ridge; and having brought forward twelve pieces of ordnance in that neighbourhood, established a very formidable camp, and began to harass the enemy with both shot and shell. Between this date, and the departure of General Irving, which was on the 29th of November, nothing occurred besides a few inconsiderable skirmishes, the natural result of the proximity of two hostile armies.

On his resignation of the command, it devolved upon Brigadier-General Stuart. He uniformly adopted a similar system of conduct with his predecessor, which, in the end, produced his own defeat, and well nigh effected the ruin of the colony. On the morning of the 8th of January 1796, a more tragical catastrophe happened than any we had hitherto experienced. About four o'clock, just after firing the morning gun, the enemy attacked our camp, and carried it. It seems, General Stuart had injudiciously weakened the main position he occupied, by multiplying, from time to time, an unnecessary number of piquet guards. This circumstance, and some others unfriendly to our affairs, were communicated to the Brigands, by certain deserters who went over to them. Their reports were listened to with avidity, and measures accordingly taken. Three hundred men, in three divisions, were selected for the enterprize; the onset was ordered to be made in three different directions, and, as nearly as possible, in the same moment of time.

Monsieur Chenou, a white man, at the head of one division, having for his guide one of the deserters, risqued an impression on the left of the encampment, where was our most commanding battery. Influenced by that enthusiasm which distinguished the proceedings of the partisans of anarchy, he entered it alone. Unhappily, the two artillerymen, who had charge of the gun, were found by him sleeping across it. On ascertaining the reality of their situation, he immediately withdrew; and returned again with his men, who dispatched those slumberers with the utmost secrecy; took possession of the gun; and turned it against us, loaded with grape-shot; the discharge of which gave us the first intimation of our being attacked. This gun

having the command of the entire ridge occupied by the artillery, the whole, in a few minutes, was entirely lost. The misfortune became irreparable. Disorder circulated throughout the whole camp. No exertions of the officers could prevail on the troops to rally; neither threats nor entreaties could counteract the operations of the panic wherewith they were seized. It is said, the General exhibited the most consummate personal gallantry on the occasion! but, alas! he was unsuccessful! Victory, in the providence of God, deserted his standard, while rigorous necessity obliged him to flee from a banditti, which, perhaps, he had but the day before despised! The army, on the loss of the camp, retreated to the block-house, at *Biabou*. In the first stage of the action, the Charaibees possessed themselves of the ridges which overhung the road, with an intention to intercept our people in their escape. This, according to the present appearances, they could have effected with very little difficulty, having every advantage on their side. Happily, however, Lieutenant-Colonel Fuller, of the fortieth regiment, with a detachment of about two hundred men, had been on his march from Dorsetshire Hill to the camp; and having arrived in the critical moment, attacked the Charaibees, and routed them. Thus, by a very providential circumstance, the carnage of our troops was prevented, their communication with the town preserved, and their rapid and disorderly flight turned into a regular and well-conducted retreat.

This night, the enemy advanced in pursuit as far as Biabou, where our army had halted; therefore, it became necessary to abandon that situation the next morning, as there were no cannon to defend it.

The ensuing day, being the 10th, the troops reached the neighbourhood of the Vigie, and occupied the eminences between that place and the sea-coast, with an intention of opposing the progress of the enemy. To give energy to this resolution, every piece of ordnance that could be commanded, was ordered thither.

In this unhappy affair our loss was considerable, especially in officers. Hardly any thing could be a stronger testimony of their gallant and spirited behavior, than the severity of their sufferings.

To judge of the future from the past, nothing was expected from General Stuart that could promise a reverse of circumstances. The community, looking back on the series of misfortunes he had encountered, gave up all for lost, and

seemed sinking beneath the apprehension. But in the anxious and desponding hour, the arrival of General Hunter, from Martinico, in the army-brig, in a great measure, contributed to soothe their solicitude, and recal expectation to their minds. That active officer, immediately on his landing, acquainted himself with the position and state of the army, and took such measures as proved, in future, very salutary. Except the strong post of the Vigie, he drew the whole of the force to the heights encircling the town; and rendered every access to Berkshire Hill difficult, by strengthening the passes. Thus, every necessary step was taken to maintain the sovereignty of the country.

On the morning of the 14th the enemy appeared in great numbers in Mariaqua Valley, and seemed determined to attack the Vigie with all their force. But General Hunter, aware of the design, and a combination of circumstances rendering the place, at this time, entirely unimportant, gave orders for its evacuation, which were complied with by ten o'clock; and the enemy instantly marched in. This possession, so flattering to their views, was succeeded the ensuing day, by an advance as far as Baker's Ridge, where they erected a battery, and opened upon Dorsetshire Hill a smart cannonade; several shells were also thrown, but so injudiciously, that they did no execution whatever. At the same time, a considerable party of Charaibees crossed over the hill above Millar's Ridge, and encamped themselves about Bowe Wood, at the head of Kingstown Valley.

On the morning of the 20th, Lieutenant-Colonel Provost, of the third battalion of the sixtieth regiment, with a considerable detachment of men, was ordered to attack the enemy's redoubt at Baker's Ridge. About five o'clock, he fell in with the advanced piquet guard, which he surprized and cut to pieces; but in approaching the redoubt, he was very warmly received with a shower of musketry. In this early stage of the action, the Colonel received two wounds; which, together with some omission of orders in the troops, obliged him to retreat to Millar's Ridge, before he could obtain his object. He was pursued with uncommon resolution and ardor; more than twenty times the enemy attempted to gain the summit of the ridge, but were as often repulsed. The action was supported, on both sides, with scarcely the smallest diminution, until night brought on a truce. The same morning the Charaibees, who had encamped at the head of Kingstown Valley, on perceiving three soldiers, of the forty-sixth, endeavoring to kill some

cattle which were at pasture, came down upon them, and pursued them home to our camp at Green Hill: this audacity of theirs so provoked Major Jackson, of the rangers, that he went out and attacked them. According to custom, they declined coming to close action, but concealed themselves among the bushes, and maintained a most dreadful fire for some hours. Just then, Major Jackson was reinforced by Major Fraser; who, on his coming up, endeavored to flank them; but, when he was almost about effecting this, they betook themselves to flight. In the mean time, they set fire to Bowe Wood House, which was shortly consumed to ashes, and served as a funeral pile for their friends who had fallen.

In the height of the action, the ship Brunswick (one of the transports under Admiral Christian) with three hundred and thirty men, of the sixty-third regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Gower, came to anchor in the road. The arrival of a reinforcement at this precarious crisis, operated on the minds of many very forcibly. They could not help recognising a Providence on the occasion. They said "This is the third time we have been reduced to the "last extremity, and as frequently resuscitated from despair: "the Lord is good, and a strong-hold in the day of trouble." Indeed, it well became them thus gratefully to ascribe their deliverances to Him who succeeds and disappoints the designs of mortals; for had he not espoused their cause, when men rose up against them, they had been swallowed up quick. Then the waters had overwhelmed them, the stream had hurried them away. Psalm, cxxiv. ver. 2, 3, 4. It is to be feared, that when the salvation was fully wrought, the merciful agent was too much forgotten. Is it possible that ye can thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise! Deut. xxxii. ver. 6.

CHAP. XXIV.

HISTORY OF ST. VINCENT'S

(Continued.)

Progress and Termination of the Charaib War.—Final Removal of the surviving Charaibees off the Island.—Civil Government.—Topographical Divisions.—Fertility, Productions, and Extent of the Island.—Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Black Charaibees.—Naval Engagement with the French off Cape St. Vincent's.

FROM the 20th to the 24th very little occurred, besides the mutual exercise of great guns. On the morning of this day, a long six-pounder field piece was dragged up to the redoubt on Millar's Ridge, and immediately opened upon the enemy's encampment, which it so effectually commanded, that evident confusion existed among them. In a little time, despairing of making an impression on our lines, and finding their present position untenable, without unnecessarily risking the lives of many, they moved off to the Vigie as soon as it became dark, with their artillery, and began to render that place still more impregnable. A pause in operation took place from this date until about the 8th of June, when his Excellency Sir Ralph Abercrombie arrived from St. Lucia, from the reduction of that island, with the whole force destined for the service of this. The preparations necessary for an attack on the enemy, being in a state of forwardness previously to the disembarkation of the troops, they marched from Sion Hill, as early as the afternoon of the 9th, in six divisions, each taking a different direction:

		MEN.
1st.	Brigadier-General Knox, to Mariaqua Valley, with	936
2dly.	Major-General Hunter, to Calder Ridge, with a brass four-pounder, and a five and a half inch mortar, with	1045
	Carried forward	1981

	MEN.
Brought forward....	1981
3dly. Major-General Morshead, to Carapan Ridge, with a brass twelve-pounder, and a five and a half inch mortar, with.....	857
4thly. Lieutenant-Colonel Fuller, to Ross Ridge, with two long brass six-pounders, with.....	573
5thly. Lieutenant-Colonel Dickens, to Warawaroa Valley, with	317
6thly. A corps de reserve, under Lieutenant-Colonel Spencer, to follow the line of march, with..	232
In all....	3960

The attack commenced with Lieutenant-Col. Dickens's division. A little before break of day he carried a redoubt, with hardly any resistance; it was maintained principally by Charaibees, who abandoned it immediately; here he planted the colors of the thirty-fourth regiment. In attempting the next post of importance in that direction, he was obliged to retreat, after having sustained the loss of fifty-one men, in killed and wounded.

The Generals Hunter and Morshead, by this time, opened a cannonade upon the Old Vigie, from their respective stations; the former, distant about five hundred yards, the latter, three hundred; while an unremitting discharge of musketry was kept up by the men from the adjoining canes, and other situations of safety.

About two o'clock, the place became so battered, that it was deemed practicable to advance and carry it by storm.

Orders to that effect were, consequently, issued, and executed with a promptitude and celerity that reflects the greatest honor on the troops. With Colonel Blair, of the Buffs, and Major Stewart, of the forty-second regiment, at their head, they instantly carried the post, the enemy retreating with great precipitation to their other works. This success was followed up with unabating ardor and intrepidity; the impetuosity of the men was such, that the two succeeding works fell into our hands almost instantaneously. The New Vigie became now the dernier resort of the enemy in this neighbourhood, and the sole object of our united efforts. About five o'clock in the evening the artillery was brought forward; and when just about to be opened, and the troops selected for storming, the enemy sent out a flag to General Abercrombie, with an offer of

submission, which was accepted, on their delivering up the other posts of Ouia, and Rabacaw, and Mount Young, with their garrisons. Earlier than nine o'clock next morning, the preliminaries of capitulation were finally adjusted; and about noon they marched out with the honors of war, and laid down their arms, to the number of four hundred and sixty men; they were conducted to town the same evening, and distributed among the vessels in the harbor. Our loss amounted to about one hundred killed and wounded; the loss of the enemy did not amount to half that number.

With respect to the French, this action became decisive, as they agreed to deliver up all the other posts which they possessed in the island, with their garrisons and stores.

The Charaibees, reduced, at length, to their own resources, seemed disposed to discontinue hostilities for the future. Accordingly, as early as the 15th, they sent in a flag of truce, and, with wonderful modesty, made overtures of accommodation, on condition of retaining their lands and prerogatives as formerly. They observed, "They had "burned our houses and cane-fields, and we had burned "their canoes, and destroyed their provisions; therefore, on "the principle of retaliation, we had no just cause of com- "plaint, or any plausible pretext for prolonging an unne- "cessary war."

On being asked, "Whether they, or the English, were "chargeable with the first violation of that treaty of friend- "ship and good neighbourhood which had subsisted between "them"—they replied, "They had first declared war; "but of what were they guilty in consequence? Every body "was then at war."

Reader, what dost thou say to these things? Which shocks thee most, the unparalleled audaciousness, or monstrous absurdity of the application? What, but absurdity in the extreme, could excite them to draw a comparison between a few canoes, plaintains, and cassada, and the loss of some hundreds of valuable lives barbarously taken, and the desolation of the greatest part of one of the most promising colonies among all the Charaibees.

In reply to the proposals of those poor wretched misguided men, they were given to understand, that there was no room for negociation; that nothing short of unconditional submission would be attended to; in which case, their lives would be spared, and they would be treated with humanity. Should they refuse this unmerited extension of benignity, the whole force of the island would be employed

against them, and their extirpation must be the consequence.

They remonstrated strongly against such an apparently cruel and arbitrary decision. They could not, they said, recollect any thing in their behaviour, that could render them obnoxious to our implacability. But since the rough torrent of occasion required acquiescence on their part, they requested until the 18th, to consult with the chiefs of families, on which day they would return and give a definitive answer. This space of time being afforded them, what through the imbecility of our measures, and their usual finesse, nothing further was done towards their subjugation before the 15th of July; when orders arrived from Sir Ralph Abercrombie (then at Martinico,) to General Hunter, to remove the Charaibees to the island of *Baliseau*, one of the Grenadines, and to supply them with necessaries, until further orders from government might be obtained, concerning their future destination.

Pursuant to these instructions, General Hunter required the immediate attendance of the Charaib chiefs. Several were, accordingly, escorted into town by a party of troops, and given to understand, that the island of *Baliseau* was appointed for their temporary residence; in which situation, they would be supplied with a sufficient quantity of provisions and water for their support; and, in their ultimate removal, be furnished with every convenience and necessary essential to their future existence. From Friday to Tuesday were given to them to take their resolution; at which time, in case of non-compliance, hostilities were to commence against them.

During this interval, many of the chiefs frequently resorted to our camp, and gave the most specious promises of complying with the orders which they had received from General Hunter.

Numbers descended from the heights, on Saturday and Sunday, and took their position between our situation and the sea, at about half a mile distance. On Monday morning, one of their leaders, accompanied by various other chiefs, approached our camp, and requested an audience of Lieutenant-Colonel Haffey. On this being granted, he addressed his compeers nearly in the following strain:

"Blush not at being vanquished! Such is the fortune of "war; therefore, it is no disgrace to us to surrender to a "great nation. France and England themselves have sub-"mitted, alternately, to each other, when necessity impelled

" the measure. Resistance should never be prolonged be-
" yond the means of supporting it. Have we the means?
" No, we have not: we are conquered! Then let us bow
" to the decision of our conquerors. I myself will set you
" the example, before this time to-morrow, by rendering
" up myself and family to Colonel Haffey, to be disposed
" of as the General may think proper: you may do as you
" please." This oration seemed to have the effect he desired it should have on his auditors; they acknowledged his observations were just, and his resolution rendered laudable by circumstances:—That they could not demonstrate their approbation of it more effectually, than by imitation, which they most solemnly promised they would; and, from that moment, abandon every idea of hostility.

These professions appeared, afterwards, to have been preconcerted, and made wholly for the purpose of obtaining time to divert the storm ready to break upon their heads. No sooner did night favor their deception, than the greatest part effected their escape to the fastnesses of the mountains and woods; among the rest was the orator himself, whose promises were so flattering.

The morning affording Colonel Haffey occular demonstration of the imposition which had been practised upon him, he endeavoured to make sure of the remaining numbers of this faithless people, who were retreating with much seeming solicitude. His dispositions proved remarkably successful; two hundred and eighty were made prisoners, who were escorted, under a sufficient guard, to Calliaqua, and removed from thence immediately to Baliseau.

The same day, Lieutenant Laborde, of the Island Rangers, was detached to Grande Sable, with a party of about thirty men, to receive the proffered submission of the Charaibees of that district, and conduct them to Mount Young. On his arrival, he found their houses abandoned, and themselves under arms, to the number of two hundred, in possession of a convenient little eminence; from whence, they called to Lieutenant Laborde, and ordered him to withdraw instantly; declaring, at the same time, that they never would submit to the English; and, that they did not revolt to much from the prospect of death, or from the idea of submission. The inferiority of his force rendered his retreat both prudent and necessary.

Much about the same hour, a detachment of men, under the command of Lieutenant-Col. Graham, having pursued the line formed by the bed of Colonarie River, to a con-

siderable elevation, discovered a large party of the enemy strongly fortified. They invited him to approach, with the utmost seeming sincerity of friendship; which he did, at the head of his men, displaying a white handkerchief in his hand, indicative of his pacific disposition; but, when he had got within a few yards of their works, a whole volley of musketry was poured around him, which killed an officer of Sateur's corps, and badly wounded the Colonel, and many others: our troops carried off the wounded and retreated. From this period, various skirmishes ensued between our several corps and the Charaibees, the natural consequence of defending their property, which our troops every where destroyed. More than a thousand houses were devoted to the flames in a few days. Sundry canoes were also burned, some of which were of dimensions unheard of before among them.

The calamities of the war, however, in which they had engaged with so much ardor, had considerably lessened their numbers, and had so weakened and dispirited the survivors, that they were unable to support hostilities with any probability of success. The whole force of the island was, therefore, directed against these fugitives; and every day either wasted their property, approached nearer to their retreats, or lessened the circle of their excursions and territories. Against such formidable forces as were employed against them, not even their native vigilance was of any avail. The dreaded conclusion which awaited them, gathered thick and fast upon them; and they were, finally, compelled, though with the most evident reluctance, to yield to that decision, which their conquerors dictated to them. They were, accordingly, transported to *Baliseau*, the little island that had been allotted for their reception.

The astonishing quantities of provisions that they possessed, were almost incredible. It is reported, they far exceeded the consumption; and were capable of supporting, independently of external resources, many hundreds of allies. This can only be accounted for from the fertility of the soil, which, for the unremitting war of two years, yielded almost spontaneously every thing that was necessary.

The civil government of this island is the same as that of the other British West India Colonies. It consists of a Governor, or Commander-in-Chief, a Council of twelve, and an Assembly of seventeen members; the number of the latter being proportioned to the size of the island; which, though it contains about eighty-four thousand acres of land,

can, hitherto, reckon only twenty-five thousand in a state of cultivation. The mountains, a great part of which were inhabited by the Charaibees, are left in their natural state; and they cover a larger surface than the vallies, whose soil alone, in general, seems capable of rewarding the labors of the cultivator; for it produces excellent cotton, the chief article of its commerce; a moderate quantity of sugar; rum, coffee, and cacao, or cocoa, dying woods, and hides for leather. The particular amount of each of the articles falls not within the province of this history; but it may be found in commercial works, whose details are best adapted to convey useful information to the merchants and traders, whom it more immediately concerns.

That part of the island, which is generally inhabited by the British and French planters, is divided into four parishes. Kingstown, written thus to distinguish it from Kingston, Jamaica, is the only considerable town; and being the seat of government, is well built, and populous, but has nothing extraordinary in its appearance. Calliaqua is the next place worthy of notice; it is a pretty little town, in which there is a small body of negroes, to whom the author preached the gospel in the year 1788, and then left them under the tuition of Mr. Baxter, a diligent and zealous Missionary. Calliaqua and Kingstown are both in the parish of St. George, and have but one church. The other parishes are, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, and St. David; but they cannot boast of any regular town, nor have they any church. In fact, they are only scattered hamlets; and christian worship is performed among them solely in private houses, most frequently by our Missionaries.

The most distinguished natural curiosity in this island, is the botanical garden, the first of its kind that was planted in the West Indies. The original design was the production of the accomplished mind and elegant taste of Sir William Young, Governor of this island and of Dominica, who recommended it to the legislature; when the institution was sanctioned by a law of the island, and, afterwards, ratified by his Majesty in Council. By these means, the necessary funds were raised for carrying it into execution.

The situation chosen by the founders was a delightful spot, comprising upwards of thirty acres of excellent land, on the north-west side of Kingstown Vale, about a mile from the town; commanding a beautiful prospect of the buildings, of the harbor, of Fort Charlotte, Bequia, and the sea. It is laid out in an irregular manner, so as to add to

its stile or beauty. Its low grounds next the sea are watered and bounded by a charming little rivulet, which sweetly murmurs as it rolls along. Its high grounds ascend a considerable way up the side of the mountain, terminating toward the north; and lose themselves, at length, among almost impenetrable woods. Part of Milton's description of Eden is peculiarly applicable to this part of the garden:

> " The champain head
> " Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
> " With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
> " Access denied; and overhead up-grew
> " Insuperable height of loftiest shade."

The situation once chosen, a superintendant was immediately appointed with a liberal salary, and a suitable house was built for his residence. The first gentleman who held this delightful office was Doctor Young, who attended to, and considerably advanced the undertaking by his skill and assiduity. But its present extraordinary state of perfection is the result of the genius and unremitted application of his successor, Doctor Anderson, who enlarged upon his plan, and devised new sources of improvement, by continual researches throughout the neighbouring islands. By penetrating the woods and wilds of the southern continent, to a considerable distance, he added both number and variety to the original classes of plants, enriching it with the most curious and valuable exotics. Through these means, this extensive and beautiful garden is amply furnished with vegetables for culinary use; with medicinal herbs, trees, shrubs, and roots; and with odoriferous plants, of almost every genus, from the different climates of Asia, Africa, and America. And that nothing might be wanting to complete its public utility, the colony had the satisfaction of receiving from Captain Bligh, in the month of January, 1793, the valuable acquisition of three hundred bread-fruit trees, from Otaheite, in excellent condition, which the author had the pleasure of seeing when he visited this botanic garden. These bread-fruit trees were part of a cargo destined for Jamaica, and the other British West India settlements; the Captain having been sent to that delightful island, in the South Seas, on purpose to procure this addition to the articles of vegetable diet for the negroes. By this wise and benevolent measure, the dread of a scarcity of provisions for them will, in future, be avoided, as far as human precaution can provide; this valuable tree thriving, in its new soil, be-

yond all expectation. Thus the public garden of St. Vincent's may vie with that of Jamaica, in every respect, except extent of ground; and its founders may justly claim the praise of having set an example to the Assembly of Jamaica, which has been productive of considerable advantage to the inhabitants of the island.

Before the introduction of the bread-fruit tree, plantains and cassada, or cassave, made of the maniock root, bananas, yams, and sweet potatoes, were the usual food of the negroes. The cassada, in particular, called by the French, *manioc*, or *manioque*, forming the basis of many of their culinary mixtures, it may not be unacceptable to give a brief account of this plant. It is a shrub, the roots of which being baked and rasped, produce what the natives of America denominate flour of *manihock*, or cassava, of which they make a kind of bread, baking the composition a second time. They plant cuttings of the shrub, generally, in new grounds designed for cocoa-walks; not only because, in many places, they are absolutely necessary to a planter for the food of his negroes; but also to prevent the growth of weeds, and to shade the young cocoa plants as they spring up, whose tender shoots, and even second leaves, would not otherwise be able to stand the excessive heat of the sun. For this reason, they delay planting the cocoa-nut, till the cassada-shrub is grown to a sufficient height to screen the infant-plant. Cassada, roasted plantains, and other vegetables, hashed up with salted pork, or beef, or dried fish, and a considerable quantity of cayenne-pepper, furnish a luxurious repast to the poor Charaibees. At their feasts, they drink a fermented liquor, prepared from cassada, pines, and other fruit, the making of which is very disgusting to the sight of an European; the cassada being, sometimes, previously chewed before infusion; the saliva occasioning a quicker fermentation of the liquor, which is soon fit for use. But since their intimacy with the Europeans, they have learned other means of intoxication. To the general account of the original natives of the West India Islands, in the Introduction, we have now to add some curious particulars respecting the manners and customs of the Charaibees of St. Vincent's, kindly communicated by Dr. Davidson, who then resided on the borders of the Charaib country.

Their marriages take place at an early age, and are generally made by the parents of both parties, without consulting the inclinations of the female. A house is erected for them, and the little furniture they require is provided. The

wife is soon made acquainted with the labors of the field; she plants the cassada, yams, potatoes, &c.; and cooks them for the indolent husband, whose sole occupation is, either shooting wild pigeons, Indian rabbits, and the opossum, or fishing. When any man among them finds himself in a situation to maintain more than one wife, he obtains them from their parents; and many of them have four or five wives; in which case, they build a separate house for each of them, and pass their time with them in turns. And so entirely submissive are the wives to their husbands, that quarrels among the women are hardly ever known. Adultery is punished with death; and in no part of the world are the married females more chaste; owing, probably, to the severity with which their incontinence is punished.

When a husband leaves any of his wives, they are not at liberty to marry again till his death, when they may have a fresh choice. No slavery can be conceived more wretched than that of the women; the whole labor, without and within doors, devolving upon them. Nor is this all; whenever frequent child-bearing, or any other cause, has made them look old and unhandsome, the husband abandons them for other wives; for whom, and their children, they are likewise obliged to do all the most laborious and menial offices. Their husbands, frequently, in scenes of drunkenness and debauchery, wound and maim them with their cutlasses, and even shoot them. In fact, there are no traces of policy, or natural justice, in their conduct. The *lex talionis* is their only rule, provided the party injured has the power to redress himself. A short time since, a singular instance of cruel retaliation occurred, shocking to humanity. *Manuel*, a Charaib, who lived on the estate of my friend, Dr. Davidson, had a sister, admired for her beauty and handsome person by her sable lovers, of whom she had not a few. She could, however, be the lot of only one; and him, to whose lot she fell, was the intimate friend of her brother Manuel. Her husband and she lived, for some time, peaceably and comfortably together, till a quarrel happened between his sister and his wife. They proceeded to blows; when the husband interposed, and commanded peace. The wife not immediately obeying, he made a thrust at her with his cutlass, and wounded her under the eye; of which wound she immediately expired. The only redress that Manuel required for the loss of his sister was, that the husband should put his own sister to death; which he did, by carrying her down

to the river *Colonorie* the next morning, and there murdering her in the most barbarous manner.

Their mode of fishing is peculiar; their common practice being to poison the rivers. For this purpose, all the men in one district are collected together; part of whom are employed in procuring the plants which are used for that purpose, viz. the *dogwood-bark*, or *erythrinalina*, and the *figesbechia*. Others divert the course of the river, if it be too large, leaving no more water than they can conveniently poison. But we should term all the rivers in that island, if they were in England, only brooks or rivulets. The weeds are then strongly beaten, and their juices expressed, and thrown into the water; when their inebriating effects are presently communicated to the finny inhabitants, who soon rise, with their bellies upwards, to the surface of the water, and are easily taken. It is remarkable, that though thousands of the young fry are thus destroyed, no ill effects have followed from eating the fish. But it is now high time to proceed to the religious department.

CHAP. XXV.

HISTORY OF ST. VINCENT'S

(Concluded.)

The Author's first Visit to the Island.—Introduction of the Missionaries.—Openings, Friendships, Progress and Success of their Labors.—The Author's Visit to the Charaibees, before the late War with the English.—Romantic Scenery, uncommon Fertility, and picturesque Appearance of their Country.—Mission among the Charaibees unsuccessful.—Progress of Religion suspended in the Island through a persecuting Act of the Legislative Assembly.—Repeal of that Law, and consequent re-establishment of the Missionaries, and of the Gospel.

FROM the survey which we have taken, in the preceding pages, of the bounties of nature, or rather of nature's God, and of the barbarities of man, we have but little reason to expect those returns of gratitude which the kindness of heaven so justly demands.

The histories of nations, in general, are but little more than histories of injustice and inhumanity; in which plunder is dignified with the appellation of conquest; and in which barbarity stands excused, under the sanction of that necessity which urged the deed. The great and benevolent Author of every good and perfect gift, from whom even those powers which are prostituted to robbery and assassination are derived, is but too frequently excluded from his works;—from providential interpositions, and from the thoughts of men. The miseries of human life but too commonly give sanction to these conclusions; and, from a full persuasion that devastions cannot come from God, popular observation denies a Providence; while reflection, building upon this false foundation, soon proceeds to a disbelief of Revelation, and sometimes of the being of a God.

A being that becomes questionable in point of existence, must be unknown in point of homage. A relaxation in external worship, betrays an internal absence of Divine grace; and this internal absence leaves an open door to the vices which hold dominion over the human heart. In every climate and in every zone, human nature is much the same; and wherever external worship is either abandoned or neglected, we have but little reason to hope that any communion is held with God.

Admitting these observations to be just, and the inferences conclusive, the island of St. Vincent's, prior to the introduction of the Methodist Missionaries, exhibited a deplorable object. Both whites and blacks were in nearly the same predicament; all were continually receiving the favors of an indulgent Providence; but, in each case, they seemed to be insensible of the obligations which these favors created, and deficient in that acknowledgement which gratitude only can express.

There were five parishes in this island when the author paid it his first visit. For four of them no church had ever been built. The only one which ever had been erected, was (according to Mr. Edwards) destroyed by a hurricane in 1780. The sole clergyman then in the island performed divine service, at which the author attended, in the Court-house in Kingstown.

Under these existing circumstances, in which we have before us an island inhabited by upwards of twelve thousand souls, it will be difficult to say, where we could find a portion in all Christendom, which could present to the ministers of the gospel, a more just and a more imperious call. Especially when we consider, that even the inhabitants who made a profession of christianity were destitute of temples, and, in general, of the means of public worship. Such a call as this united invitation to urgency, and both combined to promise success.

The first establishment of Methodism in the West Indies was in the island of Antigua, through a train of Providences which was indebted to no regular design. This took place so early as the year 1760; and from that time to 1786, it continued alternately to languish and increase. About the latter period it began to acquire stability; and it has from that time been moving onward towards that state of eminence which it now has attained. But these circumstances will best appear, when we come to consider the history of

Antigua, and the progress which religion has made in that sland.

It was towards the close of the year 1786, that the author, n company with some other Missionaries, paid a visit to the sland of Antigua, through those apparently adverse winds of heaven, which forbade us to reach our destined port. In this island we held an infant conference, and received a pressing invitation from some who had made themselves acquainted with our doctrines and views, to pay a visit to St. Vincent's. The nature and earnestness of this request co-operating with our designs, left no room for deliberation. The completion of our business permitted us to act with freedom; we had no time to lose; and as we saw no occasion for delay, we prepared, the same evening, to sail for hat island. With these resolutions, we got on board of our schooner; and, after coasting Martinico and St. Lucia, reached Kingstown in St. Vincent's, on Tuesday the 9th of January, 1787.

From Antigua to this island we were accompanied by Mr. Baxter; who, from a residence of seven years in the former, was not wholly unknown in the latter. By him, on our arrival, we were introduced to one *Mr. Claxton*. Mr. Claxton had been awakened to a sense of his lost condition, by the ministry of *Mr. Gilbert*, who visited Antigua n the year 1760, and was the first who attempted to preach he gospel in that island to the negroes. He had, occasionally, met in class in that island; but, though somewhat acquainted with Mr. Baxter, had never heard him preach. The vicissitudes of life had called him from thence o St. Vincent's; and both he and his wife, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, had retained something of the spirit of christianity;—a consciousness of their fallen state, and the fear of God.

Rejoicing at the prospect of having the gospel introduced nto the island on which he resided, Mr. Claxton's house was open to us; and, on the evening of our arrival, I preached in it to a large congregation.

It sometimes happens, that novelty awakens inquiry; and, that from a momentary impulse, curiosity keeps alive attention. It is, therefore, difficult, from the observation of an audience on one single opportunity, to calculate upon he issue of our efforts. But, so far as appearances, under hese circumstances, may be permitted to justify decision, he prospect seemed highly flattering, and indicated much future success.

The day following we quitted Kingstown, and set off for the plantation of *Mr. Clapham*, a gentleman of fortune, who resided about ten miles distant. Mr. Clapham being nearly related by law to *Mrs. Baxter*, had been previously informed of our coming, and, with all that politeness and hospitality peculiar to the West India planters, anticipated our journey, and sent horses to meet us on the road.

With the design of our journey he was not altogether unacquainted. A congregation was soon collected; and on the same evening, I preached in a large parlour in his house. We fully opened to him the business of our visit; and after informing him, that it was our design to endeavor to spread the gospel among the negroes, we gave him to understand, that Mr. John Clarke, one of the Missionaries who then accompanied us, was to remain upon the island for that purpose.

In consequence of this intelligence, he gave Mr. Clarke an invitation, which was at once both general and pressing. And from the manner in which it was delivered, we could easily discern that it was not the effusion of a momentary compliment, but the language of sound reason, that had calculated upon some of those contingencies which are incident to human life. It might sometimes so happen, he observed, that the parlour in which we then preached, might be engrossed by company, who would view a sermon as an intrusion, and feel themselves hurt at being disturbed; on which account he should feel some inconvenience in appropriating that room on all occasions to the purpose. He, nevertheless, proposed, that in such cases, Mr. Clarke should convene his negroes in a large boarded room, which stood unconnected with his house, and which we found was admirably adapted to answer the end proposed. In addition to this he observed, that he would speak forthwith to a Mr. Jackman, a neighbouring gentleman, who, he doubted not, would most readily concur in the same design.

On my journey from Kingstown to the abode of Mr. Clapham, I took the liberty of calling at the house of a *Mr. Morgan*, a gentleman of considerable property; but he was not at home. Our business, however, was communicated to his lady, who informed us, that Mr. Clarke should be always welcome to instruct their negroes, and preach to them at all proper hours.

Such were the dawnings of the gospel, and such the infant prospects which St. Vincent's afforded us, immediately on our arrival on its shores!

From the house of Mr. Clapham we again returned to Kingstown, highly pleased with the prospect which Divine Providence had opened to us in the little excursion that we had made. On our arrival we found, that during our absence Mr. Claxton had not been idle. He had actually fitted up a large warehouse for the purpose of preaching, and furnished it with seats. Two rooms were also appropriated to the use of Mr. Clarke; one for his bed-chamber, and the other for his study. These circumstances strongly indicated that we were not considered in the light of transient visitors: it was the gospel which they wished to hear; and for this gospel, a permanent provision was already begun to be made.

Finding affairs thus prosperous, even beyond our most sanguine expectation, immediately on our return we waited on the President of the Council, who acted at this time as Governor, the late Governor being dead. By him we were received with the greatest courtesy; and after satisfying him as to our doctrines, and the object which we had in view, he not only wished us success in reforming the morals of the negroes, but apparently extended towards us all that protection which his dignified station could give us any reason to expect. And as a proof of his decided approbation of our designs, as soon as we informed him, that Mr. Clarke was appointed by us to continue in the island, he generously gave him permission to preach on Sundays in the Court-house.

In the course of our continuance in this town, we were invited to dine with a Mr. Stewart, a gentleman of considerable property, who kept a large warehouse in Kingstown. This gentleman, as well as Mr. Claxton, appeared to be rejoiced above measure at the visit which we had made, and at the prospect of having the gospel established in the island. Nor did his exultation and gratitude consist in mere expression. As marks of approbation and respect, he gave to each of us who were about to leave him, no inconsiderable token of regard. To me he presented a large cocoa-nut shell, most curiously engraved, and set in silver. To Mr. Hammett, one of the Missionaries, he gave a seal, which was, probably, worth three or four guineas: and to Mr. Baxter he presented a pocket dressing-table for shaving and other purposes, worth, I presume, full two guineas. To Mr. Clarke, he said, he would then make no present; for "as he is about to continue on the "island, I shall have him near me when you are gone, and

"it shall by my care that he shall never want." This gentleman, in former years, had been a member of Mr. Wesley's society in London, and was then extremely poor; but through those vicissitudes which are the companions of human life, the scene had been reversed; he had removed to St. Vincent's, and had become a rich man. His early impressions, however, had not forsaken him; his attachment to the gospel still remained; and the first effusions of rekindling love discovered themselves in those marks of gratitude and affection which we have just surveyed.

Among the soldiers stationed, at this time, in the island for its defence, six or seven were truly serious. These, finding no public means of grace, had united together, and erected a hut within the precincts of the barracks. One of them occasionally exhorted, when opportunity offered. They associated together; and invariably met each day by five o'clock in the morning, unless prevented by military duty; and in these cases they assembled at half past four.

From a persuasion that the commanding officer must have been an observer of their superior conduct and unblameable lives, application was made to solicit permission for Mr. Clarke to preach, occasionally, in the barracks among the soldiers; but this was a favor we could not obtain. About six whites, however, besides these pious soldiers, were formed into a class; their place of meeting was at Mr. Claxton's; and Mr. Clarke proceeded immediately to take them under his care.

On Friday the 10th of February, pursuant to an invitation, we dined with a Mr. Otley, who lives about seven miles from Kingstown. He was one of the principal persons in the island, and a very agreeable man. His lady possessed both seriousness and affability. As we never missed a favorable opportunity of promoting the object for which we visited the island, we communicated to him the outlines of our design. And so far did our measures meet with his concurrence, that, notwithstanding two thoughtless officers dined with us, he felt no hesitation in expressing his approbation; and gave Mr. Clarke a general invitation to make his house his home.

Under these circumstances, his cordial acquiescence appeared in a most conspicuous light;

> "For where the world prevails, and its loud laugh,
> "Which scarce the firm Philosopher can scorn,"

politeness and mere complaisance are insufficient to produce

so open an avowal. A firm conviction of the utility of the gospel becomes necessary to produce approbation, and to give support to those truths which mere men of the world despise.

Sir William Young, on whom I had waited in Antigua previously to my present visit, has a large estate in this island, not far from the residence of Mr. Otley. By Sir William Young I was received with the greatest politeness; and if from a combination of circumstances any inference may be drawn, it is not unwarrantable to conclude, that when the happy effects of the gospel are felt and seen among the slaves of Mr. Otley, the liberal mind of Sir William will direct a door to be opened to the negroes on his plantation, that they may be instructed in those things which make for their everlasting peace.

In this stage of the business, a little circuit appeared already opened, and a sufficiency of labor provided for Mr. Clarke, whom we were soon to leave. It would have created within me no surprize, from the prospects which presented themselves, to have heard, that more applications were made to him than he could possibly supply; nor should I have been astonished to learn, that in the space of a few weeks, he had five hundred catechumens under his care.

There was a member of the Assembly to whom I had strong letters of recommendation, on whom I had not time to call. And there was another gentleman on another part of the island, who was personally known to Mr. Baxter, who had on his plantation six pious negroes, who were brought from Antigua; on him, also, we had not time to wait. From these gentlemen we had every reason to hope for an approbation of our designs; and in such cases, even that alone becomes support.

In the town where we chiefly resided, it was delightful to observe, with what eyes of affection we were surveyed by the negroes. They considered themselves as the primary objects of our visit, and on that account we were quite exalted in their esteem. In fine, the fields appeared white already unto harvest; many among them evidently thirsted for the word; and one in particular was overheard informing his companions, with simplicity and pleasure,—"*These men "were imported for us.*"

On the appointment of a Missionary in a region so flattering, appearances forbade the existence of two opinions. The path appeared to have been evidently pointed out of God; we had only trodden in the way of duty, and left

events to him. The success with which he has been pleased to bless our sincere endeavors, and the multitudes who have, through the instrumentality of the means adopted, been brought from darkness to light, are unquestionable testimonies of his sacred approbation. A recollection of what is past must, in a certain degree, direct us in our future actions. The path in which we have already trodden we know by experience to have been owned of God; and hence we learn, that then only can we hope for those blessings which we expect to crown our endeavors, when we renounce all dependance upon an arm of flesh, and place an unlimited confidence in him.

On the 12th of January, *Mr. Baxter*, *Mr. Hammett*, and myself, took our departure from St. Vincent's, leaving *Mr. Clarke*, encircled with unexpected friends and flattering prospects, upon the island. On the 15th we reached Dominica, with the same intentions and views that had conducted us to the former island; and we had the satisfaction to find, that the inhabitants, in general, were not averse to that gospel which could alone instruct them in the way of righteousness, and make them wise unto salvation.

In the course of the ensuing year, nothing remarkable happened, either to facilitate or retard the exertions of Mr. Clarke. The effusions of approbation, which novelty might have in part occasioned, gave place, in many instances, to a stability of friendship, which time had rather improved than impaired. And, on my second visit, I had the satisfaction to learn, that our places of public worship had acquired a permanency, from the sanction which regular attendance had bestowed;—that the congregations were large; and that Mr. Clarke had not labored in vain.

The prospects which had appeared so inviting had not afforded much deception; many souls had been peculiarly blessed, and, so far as either appearance or language could be admitted as evidence, savingly converted to God. Many new friends had opened their houses, and given Mr. Clarke access to their slaves: multitudes of these earnestly attended to instruction, and gave proof that they had not received the grace of God in vain.

Mr. Baxter, whose place of residence had been on the island of Antigua, had visited St. Vincent's in the course of the year. A variety of local circumstances rendered his presence particularly interesting; and as his whole soul was engaged in the work, he missed no opportunity of laying

himself out for God. Through the instrumentality of Mr. Baxter and Mr. Clarke, God had been pleased to cause the day-spring from on high to visit the country: and through the personal acquaintance of the former with many of the respectable inhabitants, the boundaries of his church became enlarged; so that, before the conclusion of the year, a sufficiency of employment appeared for both.

An enlargement of their scenes of action necessarily produced an enlargement of acquaintance; and the mutual co-operation of both had carried them to the extremities of the British territories in the island, and even given them an opportunity of forming a distant connexion with the Charaibees. Anxious to diffuse the light of that gospel which can make those who possess its graces wise unto eternal salvation, they had calculated upon an intercourse which should lead to its introduction among them. An interchange of language had already commenced; many of them had acquired a knowledge of English, and Mr. Baxter had made no small proficiency in their tongue. In addition to these favorable circumstances, a good understanding subsisted between them; restricted, indeed, by those cautions to which reciprocal jealousies had given birth between the two nations, and which the progress of time had hardened into apprehensive reserve.

In the month of December 1788, I reached Barbadoes, in company with *Mr. Lumb*, *Mr. Gamble*, and *Mr. Pearce*, three of our Missionaries, with a design to establish a mission in that island. As we knew no one when we landed, we took our habitation at an inn; but finding our expenses enormous, I seized the earliest opportunity of dispatching Messrs. Lumb and Gamble to our friends in the island of St. Vincent's, intending to follow them, as soon as a door was opened in Barbadoes for Mr. Pearce. This was soon accomplished; and in the course of a few days I quitted the island.

On the 11th of December 1788, I landed in St. Vincent's; and, after making a few arrangements and inquiries into the religious state of the island, set off, with Mr. Baxter, for the territories of the Charaibees. The day following we were joined by *Mr. Gamble* and *Mr. Clarke*, and towards evening reached the house of our new and hospitable friend, Dr. Davison, a physician. Communicating to him our intention, he so far approved of our measures, that he agreed to join us in our intended journey. The company of Dr. Davison was a valuable acquisition. His place of residence

lay on the frontier of the English territory. This circumstance had introduced him to an acquaintance with the Charaibees; and through this means, he became a medium of intercourse, which quieted suspicions and banished fears. With their savage customs, and peculiarities of manners, he was not unacquainted; so that, through his assistance, we were enabled to add an exemption from involuntary errors to the purity of our intentions, which alone, we trust, actuated us in the undertaking, through the grace of God.

On the morning of the 12th, in company with our friend and guide, we began our journey towards the Charaib country, and found ourselves encompassed with woods and wilds, as savage and uncultivated as the people whose habitations we were about to visit. The luxuriance of nature had not been corrected by the adjustments of art; a scene of wild fertility encircled us on every side, and presented to our sight an extensive region, in which, " weeds and flowers " promiscuous shoot," and wantonly wandered in magnificent exuberance.

The roads, or rather narrow paths, that lie over those mountains which form the boundaries between the English and the Charaibees, were in perfect unison with the adjacent scenery. Full of serpentine involutions, their formation is as rude as their situation is tremendous; opposition and defiance seemed to be presented both by rocks and bushes; and a complication of obstacles threatened to prohibit all access. In short, it appeared to be both the residence and empire of Danger; and our elevation served to shew us the extent of her dominions.

Some time previous to our present journey, Mr. Baxter, who had taken an excursion into these elevated regions, was exposed to the most imminent danger, and had nearly lost his life. The horse on which he rode fell down a precipice, about thirty feet perpendicular; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that, on the approach of danger, the rider was able to disengage himself. Unconscious of any immediate hazards, besides such as are common to all who pass over these outlines of the world, the hinder legs of his horse instantly sinking beneath him, warned him of approaching destruction; and he had but a moment to throw himself upon the ground, before his beast was no more.

Savages, who inhabit the woods and deserts, uniformly lead a wandering life. Stationary residence is an ingredient of civilization; and in what region soever it exists, it implies,

that the fierceness of savage ferocity has been, more or less, subdued by the cultivating hand of art.

These almost pathless mountains were frequently traversed by the Charaibees; and in the progress of our journey, we were met by straggling parties, who wandered through the desert, either for pleasure, or in quest of prey.

In one place they very opportunely came to our assistance. When riding became either dangerous or impracticable, we got off and led our horses; but, in one place, even this expedient failed us. The branches of the trees had so intersected each other, that they had completely barricaded the path which we were pursuing; and being too closely interwoven to be penetrated, and too strong to be bent, we were obliged to borrow the cutlasses of some Charaibees who were passing by, to cut open a passage through the thicket, before we could proceed. Indeed, the ground itself had given way, and formed a deep step, which our horses would not have been able to descend, if the Charaibees had not smoothed the ground with their cutlasses. On this occasion, Mr. Baxter spoke to them in their own language; on which, one or two of them holding the blade of their cutlasses in their hands, presented the hilt to me, paying me thereby the highest mark of respect in their power; as if they had said, "We have that confidence in you, that we entrust our lives "in your hands." After examining the cutlasses, and seeming to admire them, I returned them back, with the most pleasing looks, and inclinations of my body, that were in my power.

Having surmounted these difficulties, we began to descend on the opposite side with less trouble; and our path soon conducted us into a spacious plain, which afforded us an ample recompense for all our toils. It was an extensive area, about seven miles in length and three in breadth, beautified by the exuberance of nature; and seemed, thus "unadorned, adorned the most." It presented the figure of a bow, the string of which was formed by that line which was made by the union of the Atlantic ocean with the shore; while the circular part was surrounded by those lofty mountains which we had just descended. Here nature lavished her beauties in profusion, and softened into delicacies that masculine grandeur which had adorned the mountain's brow. In short, each species of beauty was evidently heightened by the contrast; so that even the rough acclivities which we had ascended gave lustre to the graces which smiled upon the plain.

In this alcove of nature, which seemed to give instructions to art, a large part of the Charaibees had taken up their abode.* As we passed by their habitations, they stood at their doors in ranks; and while many of them saluted us with "*Bou jou, Bou jou,*" (a corruption of *Bon jour*, a good day,) some in broken English cried "*How dee, How dee.*" In both cases, however, sullenness and suspicion entirely disappeared.

What tended to increase this confidence, in all probability, was, that we had in company with us one of the sons of the grand chief. This circumstance gave a sanction to our visit, and procured respect, where we, otherwise, might have been treated with indifference and contempt. The name of this young chieftain was *John Dimmey;* he had been, for some time, under the tuition of Mr. and Mrs. Baxter, to acquire a general knowledge of the English language, and had learned to speak it with some degree of fluency. He appeared to be a young man of fine parts, and capable of much improvement. He had a commanding aspect, and a princely carriage. His father's name was *Chateaway*; but at the time we visited their villages in this delightful plain, he was not at home.

The appearance of the young man had something in it very prepossessing; and so far had he gained upon my esteem, that, had his father been at home, I should have solicited, and, I flatter myself, have obtained his consent, to take him with me to England. His manners were, evidently, exalted above his condition; and his sentiments had acquired a refinement superior to the rudeness of a savage state. "Teach me your language," said Mr. Baxter to him one day, "and I will give you my watch." "I will teach "you my language," replied the young chieftain, "but I "will not have your watch."

Sanctioned and introduced by young *Dimmey,* who had walked by the side of my horse for about twenty-five miles, from Kingstown to the Charaib country, we entered the house of one of the chiefs, whose name was *De Valley,* and were treated with the utmost politeness which the savage state could have afforded. *De Valley,* who was also from

* This plain which we visited was called Grand Sable, or the Great Sand; but beyond this, we were informed, was another plain, still larger, and very full of inhabitants, as was also that of Grand Sable. But into this latter plain, no Europeans, I believe, were suffered to enter.

home, on a fishing-party with *Chateaway*, was, indeed, possessor of a cotton plantation—the only plantation I saw or heard of among the Charaibees. While we were in his house, Mr. Dimmey whispered in the ear of Mr. Baxter, that the family would not be satisfied, unless we accepted of some refreshment. We, therefore, complied with the intimation; and almost instantly there were set before us, a large *dishful of eggs*, some *cassada bread, and a bowl of punch*. It was with difficulty that we could prevail upon Mr. Dimmey to join us in our repast; none of the others could be persuaded. In this house, a beautiful little boy, a son of one of the chiefs, who had been under the instructions of Mr. Baxter, and had already learned to spell, afforded us high entertainment, by the convincing proofs which he gave us of an infant genius;—a genius, which promised in maturity those natural embellishments and energies but rarely found in savage life.

But in the midst of this hospitality and kindness the shades of jealousy occasionally appeared in sight. In Mr. Baxter they placed a considerable share of confidence; but of me they entertained some suspicions: these they occasionally communicated to him; and I could perceive, that several times he was obliged to assure them, that I received no pay whatever from the King.

As Mr. Baxter had already made a considerable proficiency in their language, and appeared even to live in their affections, I could hardly avoid entreating him to spend two years among them, to give them a full trial. On this head I communicated to him my wishes; and, though he had fully expected to return almost immediately to Antigua, the prospect of being serviceable to the souls of the benighted Charaibees induced him to relinquish his own ease and gratification, and to yield a ready consent.

Nor should the conduct of Mrs. Baxter, on this occasion, be overlooked. Though born of a considerable family in Antigua, and brought up in all that ease and luxury which is peculiar to affluence in the West Indies, she had already consented that her husband should abandon a lucrative office under government, worth four hundred pounds per annum, currency; and she now cheerfully consented to make a still greater sacrifice. She had acquiesced with the former, that her husband might devote all his time to the service and work of God; and upon the same principle, that he might be more extensively useful, she cheerfully submitted to be banished from her acquaintances and friends, to

be exiled on the margin of civilization, to spend two years among hordes of savages, and to repose her safety in the protecting hand of God.

What cannot divine grace accomplish? And what but divine grace could lead to sacrifices or make surrenders like these? Constrained by the love of Christ, both she and her husband had abandoned present possession, and expected no requital on this side the grave. After the surrender of wealth and ease, they were now about to quit their intercourse with the world, in order to undertake the arduous task of cultivating the savage mind!

Previously to my arrival in the island in 1788, we had erected a school-house, in a convenient place near the river Byera, which separated the Charaib country from ours; and had placed several Charaib children under the tuition of Mr. and Mrs. Joice, whom we sent from London for the purpose. The situation of this building being adapted for the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Baxter induced me to survey it, as soon as it was determined that they should settle among the Charaibees, or, at least, settle in such a situation, as would at no time debar them of access. On inspecting this house, I found it much larger than I had been taught to expect, and far too large for one family. In consequence of this discovery, workmen were immediately employed to divide it into nearly two equal parts; one of which was appropriated to the original intention of the house, and the other to the use of Mr. and Mrs. Baxter.

On a superficial survey of the utility which had already resulted from the establishment of the above school, under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Joice, I had my doubts how far the end for which it had been erected had been fully answered. Doubt led to inquiry; inquiry to explanation; and this brought with it a satisfactory solution of the doubts which had occurred. The illness of Mrs. Joice, and the difficulty of obtaining suitable materials for the building, had been considerable obstacles; but the removal of these occasions of its comparative inutility gave promises, which future months and years alone could realize.

The simplicity and cheerfulness which, in the midst of cautious suspicions, were manifested by the Charaibees towards us, soon grew into an attachment which totally banished our fears. The unfavorable impressions which we had received from a recital of their cruelties soon wore away; their artless address gained the ascendancy over previous report, and half taught us to believe that they had

been wronged by misrepresentation and prejudice. But artless addresses sometimes proceed from excess of artifice and fraud; and the civil history of this island stands as a convincing testimony, that no people ever practised duplicity with greater impunity than this people. The savages of America, we learn from these circumstances, may be destitute of the finesse of modern Europe, without being either ignorant of deception, or always guided by virtue.

As a people, they are much handsomer than the negroes. They appear more muscular and alert, and almost constantly assume a martial air. Even their women put on a warlike appearance, and seem familiarized with the weapons of destruction. Cutlasses, and other accoutrements, are frequently in their hands; and knives are suspended by their naked sides. Even times of peace exhibit an armed neutrality; and both sexes display a state of preparation, either for offensive or defensive war.

Having made the necessary arrangements for the introduction of the gospel among them, and engaged Mr. Baxter to take upon him the important charge, we proceeded to quit their territory, and set out on our journey to Kingstown. In different portions of the island preaching had been established; and in many of them, societies of serious persons had been formed. In several of these places we preached, in the course of our journey. As we passed along, we were received with every appearance of gladness; and the planters treated us almost universally with hospitality, kindness, and respect. Ardent wishes for our success, seemed to be expressed by all ranks of people; and previously to our departure, they gave us many decided proofs of their sincere attachment.

In the English department of the island, a sufficiency of employment appeared for two Missionaries; and to this labor *Messrs. Clarke* and *Gamble* were appointed. Mr. Baxter, about to take up his abode chiefly among the Charaibees, embarked at present for Antigua, merely to settle his affairs, to take leave of his friends, and to acquaint them with his destination.

From this period till the year 1790, I had no opportunity of visiting the island. The letters which were transmitted, gave favorable accounts of the spreading of the gospel among the negroes; multitudes attended the preaching, and an habitual seriousness seemed to pervade great numbers. Many were savingly converted to God, and evidenced, by

their lives and conversation, that they had been with Jesus Christ.

In Kingstown the congregations so increased, that the house became insufficient to contain them. A more commodious room, formerly occupied by the Roman Catholics, but now deserted, presented itself. This was purchased by our friends, and fitted up according to that mode which we have uniformly adopted in our places of public worship. It was tolerably well adapted to our purposes; it afforded accommodations for the hearers, and would contain several hundreds of persons.

On the different plantations in the country the work gradually increased. Prosperity seemed to smile upon our exertions, and success became our immediate reward. Through different parts of the island, several hundreds had joined themselves to our societies, and demonstrated by their words and actions that they were joined also unto God.

Among the Charaibees, on the contrary, Mr. Baxter saw but little fruit of his labor. To the prospects of an hereafter, they felt an unwillingness to expand their minds. A species of roving indolence, interrupted only by hunting and the exploits of visionary war, filled up every avenue of their uncultivated minds.

Mr. Baxter, who had used every exertion among them, inquiring with the prophet, *Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed,* seemed ready to conclude, that he had *labored in vain, and spent his strength for nought.* He had, during his residence among them, occasionally visited his brethren, and the places of worship to which they resorted; and this partially softened the rigors of his exile. But the prospects which lay before him in the Charaib country presented, in a moral view, nothing but "a situation waste and wild," which could neither give encouragement to perseverance, nor expand the wings of reasonable hope.

In savage, as well as in civilized life, the carnal mind is enmity to God. Moral corruption, it is true, discovers itself through different mediums; and evil travels through various paths; but in each case, the sameness of feature is so far visible, that sin may be traced to its genuine fountain, and to the same common issue. In every region of the globe that is inhabited by man, marks of degradation are awfully visible; in some places they are more conspicuous than in

others; but every nation bears the image and superscription of sin.

The disguise of language may, indeed, impose, in some cases, a varnish upon deformity; but deception cannot invert the order of nature. Even disguises appear as evidences, to prove the existence of those vices which they were intended to conceal, and are decisive marks of that depravity which finds it inconvenient to bear the light. The adoption of artifice, on such occasions, tells us why an appeal was made to it; so that the flimsy covering becomes a signal, to arrest the notice of those who are accustomed to pierce the shade.

It was towards the close of the year 1790, that I had a third opportunity of visiting this island, in company with Mr. Werrill, a Missionary, from Ireland. We landed in the evening, just before the time that our public worship began. The people had already assembled, and the house was quite full. The prospect appeared as inviting as ever; both silence and attention rested on the congregation; the friendship and attachment of those who had shewn me such kindnesses on my former visits remained unabated; so that Kingstown became to me almost a home.

Mr. Baxter, having no prospect of being serviceable to the Charaibees,* had associated with the Messrs. Clarke and Gamble, and on my arrival was in Kingstown. After visiting a few friends, and inquiring into the state of the society, I proceeded the next day, accompanied by Mr. Baxter and Mr. Werrill, to visit our societies on the windward side of the island. Many of these seemed alive to God, and carried with them convincing marks that they had received the grace of God, and experienced its blessed effects.

* A circumstance, at that time, happened, which hastened the departure of Mr. Baxter from the Charaib country. A trade was carried on between the Charaibees and the French of Martinico, in which, tobacco, and nets made of silk-grass, (as it is there called,) were exchanged for muskets, sabres, and ammunition. On one of these trading visits, the French priests of Martinico told a party of the Charaibees, that the Missionaries were spies, sent by the King of England to explore their land; and, that as soon as they had finished their discoveries, they would withdraw, and the King would send an army to conquer their country. After their return, Mr. Baxter observed an universal gloom on the countenances of all; though, just before, they had esteemed him and treated him as their father. Three days expired before he could draw forth the secret; and every endeavor failing to convince them of their deception, and their sullenness still continuing, he thought it high time to hasten with Mrs. Baxter out of the country, with all possible celerity.

In this excursion, the appearance was somewhat varied from that which was presented to our view, when, in 1788, we entered the country of the Charaibees. Full of picturesque scenery, the prospects were rather romantic than terrible, and were calculated to excite our astonishment, without awakening our fears. The mountains, indeed, projected their aspiring peaks; but the asperity of these views was softened by the cocoa-trees and plantains, which clothed the less elevated regions, and by the sugar-canes which covered the more gentle declivities. Coffee and cotton plantations both diversified and heightened the prospect, and adorned the charms of nature with the embellishments of art. At a distance, the Atlantic ocean spread her open bosom to the sun; and while, in some directions, a lazy swell moved tardily towards the shore, in others, a milk-white foam, between projecting promontories, covered the expanse of waters, as with the native mantle of the deep. These scenes, together with the plaintive murmurs of the dashing waves, and the sun exulting in his strength, and imparting life to the vegetable world, which projected a strong and perpetual verdure, afforded a diversity of beauty, of which persons unacquainted with the torrid zone can form no adequate conception. The prospect which encircled us in all its branches had such an effect upon Mr. Werrill, who accompanied us, that his aversions softened into approbation, and he confessed himself perfectly reconciled to the West Indies.

In the course of this journey we rode towards the borders of the Charaibees country, but did not enter their territories. The efforts which had been made to introduce the gospel among them had proved ineffectual; and we had no other object which could lead us either to preserve an intercourse or to cultivate an acquaintance with them. Mrs. Baxter, on taking her leave, wept at their rejection of the gospel, and earnestly prayed that they might have another call, before the things which made for their everlasting peace were for ever hidden from their eyes. At the same time, she earnestly besought God, that when another call should reach them, they might not reject it, as they had hitherto slighted the overtures of salvation which had been made.

When our Lord beheld Jerusalem, he wept over it; and predicted its approaching calamities and impending doom, as a consequence which resulted from that incorrigible obduracy, which had marked their conduct, and now led them to their destruction. To a spirit of prophecy we make no

pretensions; but it is remarkable, that the rejection of the gospel by the Charaibees was almost instantly followed by that awful war which we have already described, through which numbers of them were hurried into eternity. Had they received the gospel, when they spurned it from them, the influence which its sacred precepts must have extended over their hearts would have so far taught them their duty, both to God and man, that their attachment to our government would have remained unshaken; both duty and interest would have happily co-operated, and would have guaranteed that prosperous tranquillity which they had so long enjoyed.

Unhappily for them, those overtures of mercy which could meliorate the heart, awaken their gratitude, and make them wise unto salvation, were utterly disregarded. The turbulent and angry passions, on the contrary, were cherished within them, as the natural consequence of their refusal to learn righteousness; these hurried them onward to those deeds of conspiracy and war, which terminated in their final overthrow,—in the death of multitudes,—and in the confiscation of their lands.

Exclusively of the Charaibees, the gospel found friends in most parts of the island; so that the word of God had free course, and was glorified. Many knew in whom they had believed, and felt the power of the world to come. Grace appeared to reign through righteousness in an abundance of witnesses, who knew by experience, that Christ had power on earth to forgive sins; so that these adorned the doctrine of God their Saviour, by a holy life and an unblameable conversation.

That God is no more confined to the complexions of his creatures, than he is to temples made with hands, the two following circumstances will decide. The first occurred in Kingstown, in a conversation which took place between one of the leaders and a slave. The slave had been speaking of the love of God towards his soul, and of that love which he felt towards the source of all his mercies. "If your driver," says the leader, "should lay you *down* and flog you, what "would you then do?" '*Me should love him still*,' replied the slave. "But if you could get no meat, what would "you do then?" added the leader. '*Me eat*,' replied he, '*me tank me Fader; me no eat, me tank me Fader; me* '*live, me tank me Fader; me die, me tank me Fader.*' It is observable, that almost all the converted negroes through these islands uniformly speak of God under the appellation

of *Father*. What language can be more expressive of genuine piety and grateful confidence in God than the above? The poor negro did, in effect, declare, like Job, *though he slay me, yet will I trust in him;* and, perhaps, the above expressions contain within them all the religion that is to be found in that celebrated conversation between *Dr. Tauler* and *the Beggar*.

The other instance occurred to us, in the course of our journey through the island. In returning from the borders of the Charaibees country, a poor negro woman ran up to us from a field in which she had been working, on purpose to shake us by the hand. A salutation so unusual, as we were perfect strangers, could not fail to excite our notice. Her countenance bespoke the sincerity of her motives, and appeared, at once, to be the genuine index of her heart. "Do you love God?" said Mr. Werrill to her. '*Yes,*' replied she, '*I do, otherwise I would not have come to you; I have felt the Redeemer's life and death in my soul.*'

Such were the unvarnished and genuine effusions of their hearts! Numerous instances might be recorded of similar simplicity and affection, in which they spoke without either the decorations of refinement or the ambiguity of art. In short, a general flame seemed to have been kindled throughout the island; insomuch, that the rewards of our labor became promises of future prosperity, and bestowed upon us both possession and hope.

Even many of the Roman Catholics, of whom there are several families in the island, seemed to rejoice in our prosperity and future hopes. And, though brought up in all the fooleries and superstitious ceremonies of the church of Rome, they gave the decided preference to our Missionaries; so that Mr. Baxter was even, sometimes, solicited to baptize their children, when their own priests were overlooked. We hence learn, from these appearances and realities, that God can send by whom he will, and that nothing is too hard for his power. Climates and complexions are alike to him, who causeth his rain to descend upon the evil and the good, and whose tender mercies are over all his works.

It must not, however, be thought, from these favorable accounts, that we were in a region where enmity to the things of God had no existence. Opposition, more or less, perhaps, invariably attends upon the preaching of the gospel, just as a shadow follows a substance; and becomes the more

conspicuous, in proportion to the brilliancy with which the beams of heaven are dispensed.

Of this truth St. Vincent's has furnished some examples. But it must be admitted, that, hitherto, instances of opposition were but few; and those which were, originated with only some lawless individuals that formed exceptions to the general character. On these solitary instances it is needless to expatiate; life is chequered with good and evil, and the brightest day admits sometimes of clouds. Such circumstances tend to remind us, that we are still in an enemy's country, and that this earth is not our place of rest. They awaken the mind to a sensibility of that danger with which it is encircled; and convince it, that safety is only to be found in a state of union with God.

The Great King of Eternity, and he only, is our never-failing friend. Men are mutable and unstable; their promises but flatter to destroy suspicions, and to seize security when it is unarmed. Human nature, when unchanged by divine grace, sometimes only diffuses its friendship for the moment; and while basking in the sunshine of prosperity, we are too apt to forget this important truth, that the friendship of the world is enmity against God. Of these truths the island of St. Vincent's has furnished us with a memorable example.

The changes which almost annually take place in the stations of our preachers in England apply, with some little variation, to the Missionaries abroad. By these means, the Missionaries have an opportunity of visiting almost all the islands; and the different congregations may enjoy the ministry of all. Hence it is, that in this history of the West Indies we shall, sometimes, find the same man in one island, and sometimes in another; the progress of time must always be productive of changes, upon the itinerant plan.

It was early in the year 1793, after having taken a tour through a great part of the United States of America, and visited England and Ireland, that I returned again to the West Indies. During the interim of my absence, both sunshine and clouds had visited St. Vincent's; and on my arrival, the latter hung heavily upon the island.

It was on Thursday, the 24th of January, that I landed at St. Christopher's, and was instantly informed by Mr. Warrener, our Missionary on that island, that a dreadful persecution had arisen in St. Vincent's; and that Mr. Lumb, who had been stationed on the island, was, at that time, in

the common prison, for preaching the gospel. Wounded with his afflictions, I set off in the afternoon of the same day, in a passage-boat which sailed for the island, to administer consolation to my suffering brother, and to inquire into the occasion of this unexpected and extraordinary event. On the 6th, after touching at Nevis and Dominica, I reached St. Vincent's, and immediately hastened to the house of confinement, where I found my friend, in the common jail, with a malefactor; and not long after my arrival, another criminal was added to their number.

But, though persecuted, he was not forsaken. Our kind friends, who had adhered to him in prosperity, did not abandon him in adversity; they supplied him with a sufficiency of provisions, both for himself and his fellow-prisoners, who had been confined for real offences. Nothing seemed wanting, to render his situation comfortable, which lay in the power of his friends to bestow; but he was deprived of his usefulness, and confined with two criminals.

On his first apprehension, he was placed in a room which lay contiguous to the public street; and through the iron gratings of his window, he repeated the crime which brought him to that condition. The serious negroes, affected with his situation, continued to throng round the prison, to receive his instructions, and weep over his calamities. In this place he was guarded by soldiers; and to prevent the continuation of those instructions which he had, since his confinement, been accustomed to give from his cell, the magistrates took the most effectual measures. He was ordered to be *closely confined;* and the guards took care that no colored person, of any description whatsoever, should be permitted to speak to him, or be spoken to, through the *gratings.*

The white people, however, were allowed to visit him in his cell, and none but these. The negroes were only permitted to survey the prison which concealed him; and while in silence and sorrow they occasionally glanced towards him, and then at each other, the anguish of their hearts found some relief in an effusion of tears.

But why, it may be asked, was Mr. Lumb thus treated, and thus confined? I answer, all this was done because he continued *to preach the gospel to the negroes, in our own chapel, built with our own money,* and to which no other person presumed to lay even the most distant claim!

We have observed in a preceding page, that "opposition, "either more or less, attends upon the preaching of the

" gospel, just as a shadow follows its substance; and be-
" comes the more conspicuous, in proportion to the bril-
" liancy with which the beams of heaven are dispensed."
This truth was particularly verified in the island of St. Vincent's, on the present occasion.

It was evident, that *the Sun of Righteousness* had arisen on the island, and, with a peculiar lustre, had darted his beams into many benighted hearts. The shadows followed. The powers of darkness were exerted in behalf of a falling empire, and acted through the medium of legislative interference.

There is an unaccountable inconsistency in the human heart, which it is extremely difficult either to develop or describe. Persecution is so odious in itself, that no man was ever yet found base enough to avow himself its advocate. Its supporters have invariably had recourse to some act of necessity, or political expediency, to give coloring to those latent purposes which lie buried in the heart. Pretending to calculate upon distant consequences, which their superior acuteness has enabled them to discern, they conceal those objects at which they really aim, under the mask of public good; and indulge, at once, their rancour and ambition; the former, by wreaking their vengeance on those whom they hate; and the latter, by being approved by those whom they delude. By frauds like these, the enemies of all righteousness are too frequently ranked among the benefactors of mankind and obtain applause when, in reality, they have merited nothing but detestation.

To toleration most men profess themselves friendly; but, unhappily, too many contradict in practice what they profess to support in theory. They tolerate principles which they secretly flatter themselves will be attended with no success, and, in these cases, obtain credit for a liberality which they do not possess. But no sooner are they disappointed in their calculations, than they drop the visor which they wore, and discover that enmity and intolerance which had been concealed in masquerade.

The success which had attended the gospel among the negroes in St. Vincent's, and the subsequent conduct of the legislature of the island, afford comments of the most conspicuous nature upon the above reflections. They are circumstances that awaken the mind to a survey of melancholy truths which had been concealed; or rather, which, in their present combinations, had no existence until the present moment.

To prevent the negroes of the island from being instructed, and to hinder the progress of those conversions which had taken place, a law was enacted which most effectually answered all their purposes, by preventing the gospel from being preached. By this law it was specifically declared, that *no person in the island should, in future, preach, without first obtaining a licence.* And to prevent all unnecessary applications, it was further declared, that *no person should be eligible to a licence, but those who had actually resided twelve months on the island.* This they well knew militated entirely against the itinerant plan, which had been pursued among the Missionaries who had been established by us in the islands.

Neither could they be ignorant, from that activity and exertion which our Missionaries had manifested, that they never would consent to languish in idleness for one whole year, that they might only *become candidates for a licence,* which should qualify them to preach in the island another year. In short, though they had continued idle one year, they could have no assurance that at its expiration a licence could be obtained; for, even then, the power of granting it rested with those by whom the law had been enacted. So that, in fact, they were obliged to wait one whole year, to obtain in the end (if the magistrates thought proper) a complete refusal! Thus, then, the act was evidently levelled against our Missionaries, and was admirably adapted to destroy their labors, and to shut them up in silence.

It is, nevertheless, but an act of justice which is due to the people at large, to say, that we have good reason to believe, that the majority were decidedly against it; and many of the most respectable inhabitants reprobated the measure in the most unequivocal terms.

But, malignity, when conducted with caution, rarely wants either artifice or emissaries to perfect its plans and carry them into execution. The act which we survey was hurried through the Assembly at the close of the session; and, to complete the business, they tarried one day extraordinary. Many of the members had retired before the law had finally passed; so that there remained only a very thin house. Why this inauspicious moment was selected requires not much ingenuity to develop. The thinness of the house was a favorable circumstance that promised them a majority; but, thin as it was, they were by no means unanimous on the occasion.

A law, passed under these circumstances, it is natural to

conceive, was sufficiently guarded with penal sanctions. In the case before us, this was realized by fact. The progress of its operative penalties consisted of three stages, commencing with oppression, and ending in blood. For the first offence, the punishment was a fine of ten johannes (eighteen pounds), or imprisonment, for not more than *ninety days*, nor less than *thirty*. For the second offence, such *corporal punishment as the court should think proper to inflict, and banishment*. And, lastly, on return from banishment, *DEATH!*

That such a law might have passed in the days of Caligula, or Domitian, few will be inclined to doubt; but that it should have had an existence in a Protestant country, so late as the year 1793, may, perhaps, appear doubtful with posterity. But the public records of the island must bear testimony to the fact; and prove, that in the island of St. Vincent's religious persecution was established by law. Like the edicts of the Roman Emperors, which, first, gently pinched, and proceeded step by step, till they concluded in death, this law, established upon the same principles, moved with rapid strides, and, finally, terminated in the same issue.

Against Mr. Lumb, even his merciless persecutors attempted to bring no charge, except that *he had broken the law*. In point of fact, the charge was true; *he preached the gospel the Sunday following*, and on the ensuing Thursday was committed to jail. Previously to that time no Missionary had ever been more respected. His moral conduct, and principles of loyalty, were on all occasions unimpeached; but he had been found guilty of preaching, and the law had annexed an artificial criminality to the deed.

In this, and in a variety of other instances, "the ways of "heaven are dark and intricate;" and we are taught thereby, that we are called to walk by faith and not by sight, And, from an impartial survey of that rapine and oppression which disturb the tranquillity of the world, we rest ourselves assured, that though the judge of the whole earth must do right, it is not in the power of mortals to comprehend his ways.

Before the above iniquitous law was enacted, no island afforded a more pleasing prospect of the prosperity of religion than that of St. Vincent's. About a *thousand* of the poor slaves were already stretching forth their hands unto God; and multitudes more attended constantly the preaching of the word. The negroes throughout the island appeared,

in general, ripe for the gospel, but the door was shut against it. Nothing could give us reason to hope for better days while this obstacle continued; and our only remedy lay in an appeal to our most gracious Sovereign, through whose interference alone we could hope to have the obstacle removed.

A famine of the word, through this persecuting law, had occasioned many, who once ran well, to wander on the mountains of unbelief, and many more to turn back to the beggarly elements of the world. A considerable number, however, held fast whereunto they had attained; and, though forbidden to hear the word preached, they had not forsaken the assembling of themselves together, whenever a convenient opportunity offered. Their numbers, nevertheless, from the time in which the law passed, till the Conference, which began in February 1793, had been reduced from *nearly a thousand to four hundred and fifty-four.*

In this deplorable state religion continued in the island till nearly the close of the year. Persecution was inflexible, and no Missionary durst attempt to speak. The release of Mr. Lumb from his confinement was but a release to silence, or voluntary departure; he, of course, preferred the latter, and quitted St. Vincent's, without a certainty that ever a Missionary would be permitted to speak again in public upon the island.*

About the middle of February I again touched at St. Vincent's on my voyage to Barbadoes, but still found the door completely shut. Many of the white inhabitants, who had no connexion with us, murmured at the severity with which we had been treated, and complained that the legislature were banishing the gospel from the island. At this time, the societies of *Kingstown* and *Calliaqua*, though diminishing, had not dispersed, but continued to assemble

* Many gentlemen of the island, it must be acknowledged, felt much for this highly honored prisoner. The very magistrates who committed him offered to pay two thirds of the pecuniary penalty; and his friend, Mr. Stewart, would have paid the whole; but Mr. Lumb would neither do, nor suffer any thing to be done, which might, in the least degree, imply a voluntary compliance with so unjust a law. At the close of his imprisonment, he even refused to discharge the jail fees. But after threatenings sent to him, that "he should remain and rot in the jail, if he "did not comply," and a day's imprisonment extraordinary, he was ordered to leave the prison.

When the author was one day in prison with his friend, two gentlemen of considerable respectability came to the jail to pay Mr. Lumb a visit. On the author's making some remarks on their condescension, they answered, "Sir, it is no dishonor to make this gentleman a visit in a jail."

together in small companies, for the purposes of singing and prayer. I could only encourage the few to whom I spoke to trust in God, and pray for a removal of that cloud which then overwhelmed them; and then committing them to the word of his grace, and to the blessed promises of his gospel, once more bade them an affectionate farewell.

On my return to England, I laid a memorial before his Majesty in Council; and applied, also, in particular, to some of the members of the executive government. Orders were given, that the colonial minister should send letters to all the West India Governors, to inquire concerning the conduct of our Missionaries in general. The reports returned were, as I was informed, exceedingly favorable; so did the Lord incline the rulers of the islands to do us justice against our enemies.

It was, I think, on the 31st of August, 1793, that I waited upon the Right Honorable Henry Dundas, then one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, with five or six of our preachers in London, and received from that gentleman the pleasing and important information following:

"*That his Majesty in Council had been graciously pleased* "*to disannul the Act of the Assembly of St. Vincent's,*" which banished our Missionaries from the island. And Mr. Dundas assured us, at the same time, that "*his Majesty's* "*pleasure would be notified by the first packet that sailed* "*to the West Indies.*" Thus was liberty of conscience again restored by the best of Monarchs to his loyal subjects. Thus did religious liberty triumph over the private endeavors of oppressive violence, through the goodness of that King who sits enthroned in the hearts of his subjects, and who by his acts of mildness, which guarantee liberty of conscience through the extremities of his empire, binds, by ties of gratitude, the affections of those whom his munificence has loaded with favors.

The repeal of the above law, opened a new epoch in the religious department of St. Vincent's; the places of public worship, which had been legally shut, now became legally open, and beckoned us once more to return.

In 1794, Mr. Thomas Owens and Mr. James Alexander were appointed to labor in that island, to seek particularly after those who had wandered and had been dispersed during the period in which we had been denied access. On their arrival, as it was natural to suppose, they found the societies in a very forlorn condition. Many, who once ran

well, Satan had hindered, through those agents and mediums which promised him success, and which he had most effectually rendered subservient to his purpose. In a general view, they found them scattered as sheep without a shepherd. In some places, the form of godliness had been abandoned; and in many others, the power. In every place the number was considerably diminished; though, in some few, they had not forgotten the assembling of themselves together, nor had a sense of the divine goodness been obliterated from their hearts.

To collect the scattered remnants of Israel, to repair the waste places, to seek after those who had gone astray, and to re-establish public worship, were among the first objects which, on their arrival, laid claim to their attention. Nor were their applications made without success. Many returned again from their wanderings, and, through grace, recovered that life and power which they had lost; the congregations began to increase, and promised, after the night of affliction which appeared to be past, the dawn and meridian of better days.

But who can penetrate the inscrutable economy of heaven or comprehend those motives of action which guide his footsteps through the deep, or his conduct towards the children of men? Both nature and Providence conspire to tell us, that his way is in the whirlwind, and his paths a great deep; that we see but a part of his ways, and that the thunder of his power we cannot understand. From every quarter we learn, that his judgments are unsearchable, and his ways past finding out; and that incomprehensibility is among the insignia of his ways, whether manifested towards us in the regions of nature, of Providence, or grace.

The persecuting law had scarcely been repealed, and missions established in the island, before the commencement of the Charaib war took place. A work of divine grace had become visible in many places, but it was still in an infant state; places of public worship had been re-established, but they had hardly acquired permanency; the hearts of many were, evidently, turning to the Lord, but they wanted to be confirmed. Such was the state of the island, when the disastrous event which threatened universal destruction diffused a general languor through every part.

The circumstances of this war have been already given in detail; and it needs hardly to be mentioned, that an island which is made the theatre of hostilities, attacked, at once, by a civilized nation and by savage hordes, must be an

unfriendly soil to the gospel of peace. In this unhappy condition, St. Vincent's, at this time, must have been surveyed; for under these inauspicious realities both the gospel and the inhabitants were placed. Both sword and fire united to destroy tranquillity; and the means of present safety tended to engross the public mind, so as to leave but too little room for the consideration of those joys and pains which lie beyond the grave.

The mind, in such a situation, is alternately the sport of every passion. Hopes and fears, by turns, succeed each other, and scarcely leave an interval, either for anticipation or remorse, in respect to the views which Christianity opens to the mind. Temporal deliverance and danger appear in contention before the sight, and keep the spectator in suspense; he marks every change with an eager solicitude, and waits with anxiety the speedy arrival of victory or death. To a mind not established in the principles of religion, futurity appears at a greater distance, in proportion as the exigency becomes pressing; and sedate reflection can find no room to enter, because the present important moment swallows all.

On the persecuting law we have already made remarks. We have seen that it was enacted in a clandestine kind of manner, and hurried into existence by a few intolerant individuals, whose deeds of darkness pourtrayed the gloomy dispositions by which they were actuated. We have also seen, that a repeal of that law by our most gracious Sovereign was almost immediately succeeded by the Charaibean war. And, if popular opinion may be entitled to any credit, it is worthy of remark, that the greatest part of our persecutors fell victims in the bloody contest. I will not assert, that the death of these men was inflicted by heaven, as a particular judgment upon them for their persecution; but such facts afford an awful lesson to those who place themselves in direct opposition to the spreading of that gospel, which is alone able to make us wise unto salvation.

The eighteen upon whom the tower of Siloam fell were not sinners above all others in Galilee; but national calamities are judgments for national offences, and national crimes are but the aggregate of individual iniquities. To oppose the gospel, in the eye of revelation, is an offence of no common magnitude; and when the catalogue of human enormities is swelled to a considerable size, it approaches to a certain point, where one deed may completely turn the scale. Upon one action, in such a peculiarity of situation

the welfare or ruin of empires sometimes depends; and its performance, or omission, may procure vengeance, or avert the impending stroke.

On the administration of divine justice in the present life we are incompetent to decide; but naked facts are placed within our reach. In the case before us, the persecuting law was followed by the Charaib war; and though their intention was completely frustrated, many of the promoters of that edict fell.

In the year 1795, the removal of *Mr. Alexander* left *Mr. Owens* a solitary Missionary on the island. And at the close of the internal conflict between our government and the Charaibees, he found himself, with respect to the societies, in nearly the same situation that they were in when that law was repealed which drove his predecessors from the island; in both cases, they had their work in many places to begin again.

The subsiding, however, of these commotions, and the establishment of liberty of conscience, once more dissipated those clouds of darkness which had so long hovered over the suffering land. The horizon again became clear, and renewed those inviting prospects which had promised success, and given accomplishment as well as hope.

The work, from this period, began to spread, and continued to increase in a gradual manner. No obstacles of any particular moment occurred, exclusively of those individual impediments which are the produce of every region upon earth. A spirit of religious toleration seemed to breathe through the island, and the earnest wishes of the inhabitants concurred with our endeavors to diffuse the blessings of the gospel of peace.

With these views before us, our prospects became enlarged; hinderances dwindled and disappeared; insomuch, that we had nothing of moment to encounter, but the private prejudices and vices of those to whom we wished to impart instruction. Nor did these prospects flatter us with delusive hopes. The preaching of the word was much attended, and many gave evidence that they were not hearers only, but doers also; so that religion, from that period, began to revive throughout the island, and to take a deep root in many souls.

Mr. Pattison succeeded *Mr. Owens* in 1796, and continued in the island till 1798, when he was relieved by *Mr. Turner* and *Mr. Hallett*. Nothing of any particular import occurred during these years. The work, which began to

revive immediately after the termination of the Charaib war, continued gradually to increase; and many were added unto the church, and we hope to God. The numbers in society, which on the repeal of the persecuting law hardly amounted to *five hundred*, were now *more than doubled;* a spirit of hearing increased with the progress of time; and Ethiopia, in St. Vincent's, seemed stretching forth her hands unto God.

In 1799, *Mr. Isham* succeeded *Mr. Hallett;* but Mr. Turner still continued. A sufficiency of employment was now found for two Missionaries; both town and country solicited preaching; and whites, as well as blacks, were willing to be taught of God. The utility of our Missionaries became visible to the eyes of the planters, in proportion to the success which attended their ministerial labors; and approbation became the natural result. In many cases, interest supplied the place of better motives; so that, discordant principles united their influence, and the general result was peace.

In 1800, *Mr. Turner* and *Mr. Isham* continuing in the island, found that they had not been sent a warfare at their own charges: God had given them souls for their hire, and accompanied his word with power from on high. At this period, the number in society, in different parts of the island, amounted to about *two thousand*, who had abandoned outward sin, and were seeking salvation in the living God. Many others had, apparently, received some good impressions, and were under instructions; reformation had become visible in their conduct, and they evidenced that they were turning from darkness to light.

In 1801, nearly the same views continued. Peace and tranquillity prevailed in all places, and souls were added to the church. To the negroes, the Missionaries had free access, and multitudes appeared extremely willing to be taught. The little one became a thousand, and the fruit of their labor became visible in every part. No clouds appeared to interrupt the rays of the Sun of Righteousness; their healing beams, conspicuous in many parts, sufficiently recompensed them for those former toils, when threatening and danger frowned from sword and fire, and the edicts of legislative power.

On the 19th of May, 1802, Mr. Isham wrote as follows, on the state of the societies, and of the prospects which lay before him:

"In this island we have between *two and three thousand blacks in society;* and from the intercourse and conversation I have with them, I have reason to hope that many experience a work of grace, and are going on to full salvation. The convinced and converted negroes appear to possess a deep sense of their depravity and unworthiness, and of the love and goodness of God in the gift of his Son; and they express the sincerest gratitude for being favored with the light of the gospel.

"The congregation in Kingstown, on a *Sunday morning*, consists of about *six hundred souls.* On Sundays we preach at Prince-town and Layon, but the congregations are not large in either place. Among the plantations where we preach on week nights, the congregations, in general, consist of about *fifty or sixty* in each place. But on the Sunday, when we preach on the plantations, several hundreds of slaves assemble from different parts, to hear the glad tidings of salvation, and devoutly join in prayer and praise.

"We have two love-feasts in Kingstown every quarter; and the reason is, because the chapel is not large enough for more than one half of the society to meet in at once. These love-feasts are refreshing seasons; tears of contrition, of joy, and of gratitude, with supplications and praise, flow from the eyes and lips of many precious souls.

"On the first Sunday in every month, we administer the Lord's Supper to between one and two hundred communicants; who, I trust, enjoy a measure of redeeming love, and long to experience that the Blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin. We enjoy peace in our Zion. The inhabitants treat us with kindness and respect. That gratitude and obedience may ever be rendered by us to the Prince of Peace, for the civil and religious privileges which we enjoy, is the earnest prayer of, &c.

"THOMAS ISHAM."

That a body so large should have connected with it some unworthy members, is neither surprising nor uncommon. None, however, were countenanced or acknowledged, who suffered reproof to be given to them in vain. Charity, indeed, suffereth long, and is kind; but there are certain points beyond which it must not pass. Reproof, mingled with patience and affection, Christianity instructs us to exercise, before we attempt to exclude those who may have been overtaken with faults, unless they be very notorious.

In many cases, through these means, restoration has precluded excommunication, and wanderers have been brought back again to the fold of Christ. But when obstinacy bids defiance to admonition, and perseverance in disobedience affords no reason to hope for an amendment, excision becomes indispensably necessary, to preserve the purity of the church, and to convince the world, that the acquisition of numbers can hold out no inducement to us to countenance offence.

How flattering soever the prospects might appear in St. Vincent's, we shall find by our subsequent accounts, that they afforded opportunities for these painful exercises. The addition of new converts was not always an increase of society; they only came forward, in many instances, to supply vacancies which apostates had left, and discipline had made.

In the year 1803, Mr. Taylor, one of the Missionaries, arrived on the island, and the day following was taken ill of a fever. But, though his symptoms were dangerous, divine goodness appeared in his behalf, and restored him to the necessitous church.

Soon after his recovery, he expressed himself highly satisfied with the people, and looked forward with pleasing hope for a revival of the work of God. At the same time, he complained much of the condition of the chapel and dwelling-house, and urged the necessity of getting both into complete repair.

"The wretched habitation," he adds, "in which we dwell, is but fourteen feet by eleven: and the chamber is not so large. And such is its condition in point of repair, that neither the roof, the windows, nor the door, will keep out rain."

Such were the domestic inconveniencies to which the Missionaries were exposed, while publishing to the negroes the unsearchable riches of Christ. But these were only subordinate considerations. In the same letter, Mr. Taylor writes, that he had "every encouragement to labor faithfully; and I trust," he adds, "that we shall labor in unity and love, and shall see the pleasure of the Lord prosper in our hands."

Nothing of any particular moment occurred during the remaining part of the year. Appearances continued to wear a favorable aspect; the converted negroes, in general, held fast whereunto they had attained; and the places of those

that had been discarded for negligence and immorality, were supplied by others who began to turn unto God.

The state of the island in 1804 may best be gathered from the statement of Mr. Taylor, who being continued there as a Missionary that year also, drew his information from the spot.

From comparative estimates which had been made with preceding periods, his observations are decidedly in favor of the time in which he wrote. His letter is dated the 7th of April, 1804, and runs thus:

"We have cause for much thankfulness, that the work of God prospers in the island. Our congregations are larger than they were; our society increases in number; our classes are better attended; and, I believe, there is more harmony and concord among us than were heretofore.

"We have added in all, since I have been stationed on the island, nearly three hundred. But still our number is not equal to that which was given in last year. We have, at present, *two thousand one hundred and sixty colored people and blacks*, and *nine whites*; and the reason why this aggregate number falls short of that of last year is, that I have been obliged to deny tickets to many, on account of their lukewarmness and neglect of the means of grace. Many of these, however, have since returned, and, with promises of amendment, desired to be tried again.

"The peculiar situation of the negroes is, on many accounts, truly afflictive; domestic necessities present many real hinderances; and, on this account, much allowance must be made. Sunday is their chief day of respite from laboring for their masters; and on this they are obliged, on their own account, to cultivate their ground, to wash their clothes, and to go to market. Indeed, the Lord's day is, I believe, the professed market-day throughout all the West India Islands. O that this abominable evil may be soon removed!

"Yet, notwithstanding these hinderances, God does convince of sin, and savingly convert to himself, many of these poor Africans; and some of them die, not only with a hope of heaven, but triumphing in full assurance.

"Very lately two slaves on one estate made a happy exit. One of these, named *Pender Sharpe*, was about a hundred years of age. I visited her a few days before her departure, and found that she expressed the most lively hope of heaven.

asked her if she had any fear of death? she answered, No; nd added, that she thought about nothing but her Lord; nd observed, that His comforts delighted her soul, especi- lly in the night, when her pain was so great as to prevent er from sleeping, which was often the case.

" The name of the other, whom I visited at the same me, was *Sarah*. When I went to her bed-side, she seemed ıst departing. She was lifting her dying hands and eyes owards heaven; while tears of joy bedewed her face, from n internal conviction that she was soon going to be with er Lord for ever. She had been sick a great while, and vas extremely poor, having, when I saw her, nothing but vater. Yet, even in the midst of this complication of dis- ress, I never heard her murmur. On the contrary, she vas not only thankful, but rejoiced, and triumphed in hope f the glory of God. Within a few hours after I saw her, he departed happy in the Lord.

" On Sunday last it was my turn to go to what we call he windward part of the island, where we had a love-feast. Here we have about a *thousand* in society; and having only negro-house to meet in, crowds of people are obliged to stand out of doors under the violent beams of a vertical sun. The excess of heat, in such an exposed situation, to Euro- peans, is insupportable; the piercing violence of the sun overpowers nature, drinks up the spirits, and, sometimes, erminates in death. Many have thus died with the exces- ive heat of the sun. The negroes, however, feel no such nconveniency; and many of them actually stood on that lay, from first to last, about five hours.

" To hear them tell their experience, was both delightful nd astonishing; they knew that they were brought from larkness to light; and signified, that until lately they knew ıot that they had even a God to serve.

" To reach this part of the island, we have to ride about ixteen miles; and the heat is often so excessive, that our aces are as red as raw flesh, and feel as if they were ready o burst. And at this season of the year, we frequently neet a burning wind, which, coming over the dry cane- tubble, nearly suffocates us. In addition to this, our road ies on the edges of precipices of a tremendous height, at he foot of which, the sea is perpetually breaking with an awful roar. While, on the contrary, if we lift our eyes, a owering cliff projects above us, and threatens to bury us in he impending ruin, or to push us from our narrow path

upon the rocks and ocean that are waiting to receive us below.

"But what are these difficulties, if the Lord strengthen us to go through them, and if hundreds of the poor Africans get safely to heaven? In that blessed region we shall find an ample recompence for all our toils. May the Lord help us; and to his name be all the glory!"

As a decisive evidence that the converted negroes conduct themselves with propriety, and that a reformation, accompanied with integrity, becomes visible to their masters, it will be only necessary to mention facts. It has been stated upon the best authority, that when, on the plantations, an office that implies trust and confidence, such as that of a watchman, becomes vacant, it is an usual practice in several of the islands, with the planters, or their managers, to enquire after a religious negro who may fill it. And in Antigua, Nevis, Tortola, and St. Vincent's, the owners of estates, and other inhabitants, are so fully satisfied with the conduct of the Missionaries, and so conscious of the political as well as religious advantages resulting from their labors, that they entirely support the work by voluntary contributions and subscriptions.

Thus, then, we find, from the most insignificant beginnings, that the word of God has so run, and been so glorified, that the little one is literally become a thousand. *Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.* Through clouds and sunshine, through evil and through good report, he has wrought a way for our escape, and prospered the labors of our hands in an almost unexampled manner, for these modern times.

In the autumn of the year 1804, the West India Islands were visited by a most tremendous tempest, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning, which appeared to ravage both sea and land. The island of St. Vincent's was, however, among those which suffered least on the occasion; but little damage being done on shore, and only two or three vessels being injured in the harbor.

About a month after the storm, the Missionaries set apart a day of solemn thanksgiving to God for those signal mercies which they had experienced, while several of the neighbouring islands had felt the calamity in all its rigor.

They began their praises with the beginning of day, and had a large congregation. At ten they had morning service; and after reading psalms and lessons suitable for the occa-

sion, a sermon wes delivered from Ezra, ix. 13, 14, to a large and deeply attentive audience. In the evening, another sermon was delivered from Isaiah, xxxii. 2. Both were found to be solemn seasons, and the inhabitants appeared to be highly satisfied with setting apart the day. Their approbation appeared visible from their subsequent conduct; for since that period, more of the white people have attended preaching, and a little revival of religion has taken place.

On the 21st of October, they were alarmed more seriously than on the former occasion. It was on a Sunday morning, just about the time that the public service began, that, without any harbinger of approaching calamity, one of the most tremendous storms of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, came on, that was ever remembered by the oldest inhabitant. The elements in an instant were in commotion; and the earth trembled to that degree by the roaring of the thunder, that many thought there was an earthquake. And it appeared, from a paragraph in the newspaper for the week following, that the door of the magazine in Fort Charlotte had geen wrenched open by the violence of the lightning, but through the divine mercy it was suffered to go no further. In this magazine were several hundred barrels of gunpowder; and had it taken fire, it is more than probable, that Kingstown would have been reduced to a heap of ruins, and all its inhabitants buried in one common grave. But in this instance also, Almighty goodness "turned aside the fatal hour, and lifted up their sinking heads."

"Since this happened," says Mr. Taylor, "more of every color have attended the preaching; and so many are asking for pews, that we cannot accommodate them. In this country we have had several new openings of late, and we hope yet to see greater things than these."

The experience and conduct of former ages have taught us, that nothing is too great for God to bestow upon his church, or to do for it, when we ask in faith, nothing doubting. The expectations which were expressed by Mr. Taylor, in the preceding paragraph, seem to have been realized in St. Vincent's, in 1805. The blessings which Mr. Taylor beheld in anticipation, Mr. Sturgeon appears to have taken into actual possession; as the following letter, dated April 25th, 1805, plainly testifies:

"I think," says he, "the grace of God is making its way to the hearts of many in this island. Our hearers increase

every day; and I trust and believe the religion of Jesus Christ increases in the society. Formerly few white people came to hear the word; but now, so many come, that they can hardly find room either to sit or stand. It is now no rare thing to see fifty or sixty of the most respectable white inhabitants at the preaching; and they seem to hear with much attention. O that the word of the Lord may reach and change all their hearts!

"On Easter Sunday there were about *seven hundred* at the chapel by *four o'clock in the morning*; and at ten, we had the largest congregation that I ever saw. It is thought that there were *fifteen hundred* or *two thousand* people of different colors, who appeared to hear with much attention. —*The Lord is risen indeed!*

"Such a vast concourse of people could by no means find room in our chapel; and to remedy the defect, we were obliged to borrow sails from a vessel, and spread them before the door for an awning; yet, even this expedient would not afford covering to one half. In the windward parts of the island, the places were equally as much crowded, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. The divine blessing seems to accompany the word; multitudes enjoy tranquillity in life; and many, who have died, have departed in peace."

Of the state of the societies through the island no accurate accounts could be transmitted, owing to a temporary embarrassment which most of the islands experienced in the year. The arrival of the French fleet in the West India seas spread terror and alarm among all ranks of people, and caused martial law to be proclaimed. This, in a great measure, prevented many from attending at their class-meetings, and from renewing their quarterly tickets.

"Although," says Mr. Taylor, April 25th, 1805, "we have double the number of whites to hear, and though some of them have been occasionally much affected, yet not one has joined the society since the last accounts were transmitted. Of the slaves chiefly, and a few free people of color, upwards of three hundred have been added during the last year; but I cannot give in all these in addition to the number mentioned in the last year's accounts. Since the arrival of the French fleet in these seas, martial law has been in force till of late, and by this means the people have been prevented from coming to town as usual. And though I do

not consider them as out of our societies, yet they surely ought to be seen before their numbers are returned.

" Thanks be to God, we are, at length, delivered from our fears. For a while the French have left us; the commotion is subsiding; and I hope things will go on as well as before. On Tuesday evening we had a watch-night. We began at half past eight, and continued until twelve. It was a solemn time, and I believe many renewed their covenant with God. May the Lord quicken us more and more for his mercy's sake."

An extraordinary instance of unexampled affliction and patience, occurred in this island in the course of the last year, in the person of *Robert Keane*, a negro. His employment had been that of a sugar-boiler; and his afflictions were dreadful for several years. His sufferings, it is supposed, primarily arose from a drop of boiling sugar falling upon his arm, when he was at work. The place soon fretted to a sore; and the wound so spread, that, at length, his fingers actually fell off. The disorder then ascended to his head, which became affected so much, that his eyes dropped out; and this was soon followed by several pieces of his skull. His feet, also, were attacked by the same irremediable complaint; and both came off. Yet he bore all this with remarkable patience; and, at times, rejoiced in hope of being received into that place where neither sorrow, nor affliction, nor death can enter.

" The last time," says Mr. Taylor, " I visited him, I could not bear to look upon him; but talked to, and prayed with him at his chamber-door. When I asked him how he did, he replied, that he was just waiting the Lord's time, when he should be pleased to call for him. " *Massa*," said he, " *two hands gone; two eyes gone;* " *two feet gone; no more dis carcase here. O massa,* " *de pain sometimes too strong for me; I am obliged to* " *cry out, and pray to de Lord for assistance.*" When he came to close his life, he exhorted all about him to be sure to live to God; and especially his wife, who had continued with him all the time of his affliction. This is a rare circumstance among negroes. The common practice is, for either men or women, when their partners are afflicted, to consider all obligations cancelled,—to leave them, and get other husbands or wives. But she continued faithful; and he died happy, exhorting her to live to God.

Of happy deaths we might easily collect numerous instances. They display the efficacy of divine grace in a most powerful manner; but as they are purely of an obituary nature, they are not adapted to be incorporated with this historical survey of the rise and progress of religion in the island. Extraordinary incidents deserve extraordinary attention; this we have noticed in the case of *Robert Keane,* and with him we close our history of St. Vincent's.

CHAP. XXVI.

HISTORY OF ST. LUCIA.

Discovery.—Original Inhabitants.—Possessed by the English.—Ineffectual Attempts to establish a Settlement.—Alternate Struggles of the English and French for Mastery.—Declared Neutrality of the Island at the Peace of Utrecht.—Marshal d' Estrées obtains a Grant from the French Court, and is opposed by that of London.—The Island returns again to its neutral Condition.—England assumes the Sovereignty, and is opposed by France.—A Compromise takes place.—Finally submits to France in 1763.—*State of the Island while in the Hands of the French.—Captured by the English in* 1779, *and again restored in* 1783.—*Again captured in* 1794, *and again restored in* 1802.—*Recaptured by the English in* 1803.—*Situation and Appearance.—Climate, Advantages, and Disadvantages.—Religion, &c.*

THE discovery of America, and its appendages, opened, in an instant, such regions of territory, as were, evidently, too vast to be presently comprehended, possessed, or peopled, by the inhabitants of the old world. The nations of Europe poured their ships and colonies upon the bosom of the Atlantic, in pursuit of wealth. Territory and gold were alike the objects of their adventures; and each party seized with avidity upon those islands, to which they thought their rivals could present no prior claim.

Unhappily for the poor natives, and for the principles of immutable justice, these confederates in conquest and robbery proceeded in their expeditions upon a maxim, in which cruelty and injustice united their influence to excite our detestation. They seem to have taken it as a fundamental principle, that the discovery of the new world gave to the discoverers an undoubted right to possession;—the natives were considered in nearly the same light as the beasts which inhabited the forests. In many cases, they were at once destroyed; and in others, hunted from island to island,

the instant that their invaders gained a footing upon their shores.

In this strange delirium for dominion, it sometimes happened, that distinct nations laid claim to the same island, while others were either abandoned or forgotten by each party. In the latter of these situations we find Barbadoes; in the former, St. Christopher's; and in St. Lucia, both appear to have been united.

The native Indians, having been driven from their original possessions by the civilized adventurers who seized their lands, found, for some time, a temporary asylum in St. Vincent's, Dominica, Tobago, and St. Lucia. These islands, it is true, had been previously claimed by the European nations. Both England and France made pretensions on the ground of right; so that, on the score of expediency, rather than on that of justice, both nations acceded to a neutrality, of which neither secretly approved.

In what particular voyage of Columbus St. Lucia was discovered does not precisely appear. It was, probably, attended with no memorable circumstances; and, on that account, its original history is enveloped in shade. On the persons, manners, customs, and modes of life of the Charaibees, we have already spoken; and but little more could be expected from an intimate acquaintance with this island, could we trace its history from year to year.

"The English," says Raynal, "took possession of this "island, without opposition, in the beginning of the year "1639. They lived there peaceably about eighteen months; "when a ship of their own nation, which had been over-"taken by a calm off Dominica, carried off some Charaibees "who were come in their canoes to bring them fruits." This flagrant violation of justice exasperated the savages of St. Vincent's and Martinico, who made a common cause with the injured party, and meditated indiscriminate revenge. In the month of August 1640, they united their forces, and wreaked their vengeance upon the infant colony. The greater part fell victims to the merciless savages, and the few that escaped the general massacre abandoned the settlement and the island together.

In 1650, an attempt to form a settlement was made by France; and about forty inhabitants went over, under the direction of Rousselan, a man at once brave, active, and prudent, and admirably adapted for the station which he was called to fill. Rousselan felt an attachment to the natives, and by marrying one of their women sufficiently

proved that his attachment was sincere. The conduct of this leader soon gained both the confidence and the affection of the Charaibees, and promised to lay the foundation of a flourishing colony, upon principles founded in equity, and aiming at the benefit of all. His continuance, however, was but short. At the end of four years, death put an end to all his schemes and exertions, and nearly to his people's hopes.

He was succeeded in his situation by men of a very different description, who not only neglected to promote the welfare of the colony, but alienated the affections of those whom it was both their duty and interest to have conciliated and secured. In the short space of ten years, three of these Governors were murdered by the Charaibees. The commotions attendant upon such events disturbed the tranquillity of the colony, and totally prevented that prosperity which the prudent management of Rousselan promised to ensure.

In this state of convulsion and disorder, it was again attacked and taken by the English in 1664;* who, from a combination of causes, finding it an unprofitable acquisition, evacuated it through choice in the year 1666.

The English had scarcely departed from the island, before the French again appeared, and proceeded to revive those languid works from which they had been driven about two years before. About twenty years after this period, they were again visited by their rivals, and the colony was once more brought into subjection to our government. On the arrival of the British invaders, many of the French residents, finding no security in their possessions, abandoned the island; while others, either unable or unwilling to adopt that mode of safety, betook themselves to flight, and found a temporary asylum in the mountainous and almost inaccessible parts.

The conduct of the English in 1684 and 1664 was much the same. In both cases they were but transient visitors, spreading terror and alarm, and then disappearing. On their departure the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the mountains, once more returned to their labors; but the spirit of enterprize and achievement was gone. Security,

* St. Lucia was taken by an armament, under the command of Lord Willoughby, who, after the capture, collected the natives together to the amount of about six hundred, and from them obtained an actual surrender of the island.

which can alone give vigor to action, and perpetuity to both, could not be obtained; they felt and saw their forlorn condition, and considered themselves as the easy prey of any foreign power, who, lured by the hope of plunder and the confidence of success, might think proper to invade them. To heighten the calamities of their future prospects, a war about this time broke out between England and France. Even against a privateer they were unable to make any resistance; so that they had no foundation on which to rest their hopes; when even prosperity became the harbinger of their inevitable ruin, and promised to reward their invaders with their spoils.

From these considerations they abandoned the island altogether, and left it once more in possession of the Charaibees; who, having no property to lose, felt no anxiety arising either from their hopes or fears. A temporary cultivation was, however, still carried on by the French, who had found a more promising security in the stronger and more fully inhabited and fortified islands. It was chiefly visited by the colonists of Martinico; but not so much for the advantages of cultivation, as for the excellent timber with which it was almost completely clothed. This natural production they found of essential service; insomuch, that, besides supplying their deficiencies in other quarters, they came thither to build canoes, and actually erected considerable docks on the island.

Nothing of consequence happened during the war. It held out nothing to invite invasion, because it could afford the adventurers no reward. The peace of Utrecht, in 1713, viewed it as a neutral island, and of course gave neither England nor France any title to possession. The Charaibees were considered as the real proprietors, whom no nation had a right to disturb; and the pillage and desertion which had occasionally taken place were, consequently, viewed in no other light than as acts of depredation or choice, with which the Charaibees only had a right to interfere.

No sooner was the peace concluded, which left St. Lucia in possession of the Charaibees, than *Marshal d' Estrées*, a French nobleman, petitioned his government for a grant of the territory. The court of Versailles felt no scruple in granting his request, and in authorizing him to take possession of an island, to which no nation in Europe had any just right. Such unwarrantable assumptions discover, in many cases, the sources of power; and though defeated in their

purposes, they serve as precedents, which give sanction to future wrongs.

Marshal d' Estrees had no sooner obtained his grant, than he sent over a Commandant, inhabitants, troops, and cannon, with a design to erect fortifications, to secure the island against all future assailants. This happened in 1718. On their arrival at St. Lucia, they found it already inhabited by soldiers and sailors, who had deserted from their regiments and ships in the preceding war, and taken up their abode in this unmolested retreat. These men became an additional acquisition, and tended to promote the infant colony which was now about to be established, under the patronage of power and the guarantee of law.

Our court grew uneasy, and considered the grant which had been given to d' Estrées as an indirect violation of treaty, and as the arrogating of a possession, to which they thought, from the early settlement of 1639, and the formal surrender to Lord Willoughby in 1664, they had a prior right.

Here, then, our government and the French were at issue; the former pleaded prior settlement and voluntary surrender, and the latter pleaded an almost uninterrupted possession. The remonstrances of England, however, gained the ascendency. France recalled her letters patent, and, finally, reduced the island to the condition in which it stood at the peace of Utrecht, in 1713. England, in the mean while, encouraged by being thus far successful, proceeded, in her turn, to take possession of St. Lucia, from which, by her remonstrances, she had but just driven the French. In 1722, it was given to the Duke of Montague, who, like Marshal d' Estrées, in 1718, sent out immediately a small colony to take possession of his new dominion. This, on the contrary, produced remonstrances on the side of France; and much uneasiness ensued between the two courts.

The remonstrances of France were productive of nearly the same effects as those of England in 1718. A temporary adjustment of disputes took place in 1731; and it was agreed between both parties, that till some future arrangement should be made, the island should be abandoned by both nations in point of possession, while the wood and water with which it abounded should be free for all.

The succeeding war, which commenced in 1744, and ended in 1748, had no other effect upon this island, than, finally, to ratify that temporary agreement which had been

made in 1731. By this peace, *St. Vincent's*, *Dominica*, *Tobago*, and *St. Lucia*, were declared to be neutral islands. And after having been harassed by invasion, by insult, and by oppression, for a series of years, the miserable remnants of the original natives were declared the rightful possessors, and permitted to enjoy, for a short season, undisturbed repose.

From this period, till the treaty of 1763, St. Lucia continued in this situation. The old French inhabitants remained in their ancient possessions, and the island became a convenient spot for expediting a contraband traffic, which was carried on among the islands occupied by both nations. St. Lucia was, exclusively, possessed by neither, but was frequented by traders of both, and became the rendezvous of all. But this state of domestic prosperity and peace was of short duration; the treaty of 1763 decided its fate, and fixed it under the dominion of France.

England and France, having watched each other's movements with unwearied jealousy for more than half a century, began now to think seriously about dividing the spoils which had occasioned so much contention. And by the ninth article of the definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris Feb. 10, 1763, it was concluded, that the islands of Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Tobago, should become the property of Great Britain; and, that St. Lucia should be assigned to France in perpetual sovereignty. Such are the changes which take place in the progress of time, in national justice, faith, and honour!

It was only fifteen years before, that both England and France declared these islands to belong to the Charaibees their ancient possessors; but, in the present treaty, even their names are not so much as mentioned; but all their lands were seized with as much composed avidity, as if the Charaibees had no sort of existence. Private depredations it is true, had so far reduced them, that, at the signing of this treaty, not more than one hundred families of the red Charaibees were to be found; and these, driven from their ancient and extensive dominions, had been obliged to retire to an unappropriated tract in the island of St. Vincent's.

"The French ministry, in 1763," says Raynal, "sent "over, at a great expense and with unnecessary parade, seven "or eight hundred men, whose unhappy fate is more a "matter of pity than surprise. Under the tropics, the best "established colonies always destroy one-third of the sol- "diers that are sent thither, though they are healthy stout

" men, and find good accommodations. It is not surprising " then, that a set of miserable wretches, picked up from " the dunghills of Europe, and exposed to all the hardships " of indigence, and all the horrors of despair, should, most " of them, perish in an uncultivated and unwholesome " island." Such, in reality, was the fate of the first colony which emigrated from France to people St. Lucia, as soon as the peace of 1763 had placed it in their hands.

The domestic revolutions which too frequently accompany both war and peace, drew, on the failure of this colony, a number of inhabitants from the neighbouring islands. Men inured to the climate were capable of bearing its fatigues; to them the prospect of an advantage became an allurement, that at once stimulated exertion, and promised success. Many who had inhabited the *Grenades*, making advantageous bargains with the English, to whom they sold their possessions, repaired to St. Lucia, and brought a considerable portion of their property with them. St. Vincent's and Martinico also supplied their quotas: necessity and choice united their influence; some were allured; others were driven; so that, St. Lucia, through the joint action of heterogeneal causes, derived its inhabitants from the islands that were already peopled.

From this period, prosperity continued to accompany every enterprise; inhabitants poured in from every quarter; and cultivation was conducted with spirit and success. In 1769, the population amounted to twelve thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, including slaves and men of free condition; and in 1772, the aggregate amount, of all complexions and conditions, was fifteen thousand four hundred and seventy-six. In both of these periods, the cultivation and produce of the island kept pace with the inhabitants, and moved onward with rapidity towards that perfection, which other colonies had previously attained.

Islands detached from their parent state frequently fall victims to the ravages of war. Security is at best but precarious; and even prosperity too often tends to promote that instability which the inhabitants chiefly dread. This was particularly realized in St. Lucia. In the year 1779, it was taken from the French, by a squadron under the command of Admiral Christian, and a considerable land force under General Abercrombie, after a fatiguing siege of twenty-four days. In this siege we lost four brave officers and sixty-two privates; while fifty officers and three hundred and twenty-nine privates were wounded. The loss of the

French, which was considerable, is not ascertained. At the conclusion of the war in 1783, St. Lucia went back to the crown of France, and continued as an appendage of that empire till the recommencement of hostilities.

In the course of the late war, St. Lucia once more changed masters, and fell into our hands. It was captured by a fleet under the command of Admiral Jervis, afterwards Earl of St. Vincent, and the land forces under General Sir Charles Grey, on April 4th, 1794, without attempting to strike a blow. The commotions in France, having both weakened the garrison and dissatisfied the inhabitants, had reduced it to an almost defenceless state, insomuch that resistance could be of no avail. Of the surrender of Martinico and Guadaloupe to our victorious forces, the commanding officer had received some intelligence; and seeing, at the same time, the British colors flying on the *Morne Fortune*, where they had been hoisted by his Royal Highness Prince Edward, now Duke of Kent, a few hours after the landing of our troops, he requested to capitulate on the same terms that the French General Rochambeau had obtained; which were instantly granted.

On the conclusion of the war, it, however, once more reverted to France; it was included in the second article of the preliminary treaty of peace, in October 1801, and finally ratified by the definitive treaty signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March 1802.

That peace, however, or rather that cessation of hostilities, was of very little more than a twelvemonth's duration; and one of the first consequences to France of a renewal of the war was, the capture of this island on the 22d of June 1803, by a British land force under the command of Lieutenant-General Grinfield, aided by the ships and vessels commanded by Commodore Hood. On the 21st, at day-break, our armament was off the north end of St. Lucia; in the course of the day the greater part of the troops were disembarked in Choque Bay; about half past five, the outposts of the enemy were driven in, the town of Castries was taken, and a summons was sent to the Commander of the troops of the French Republic. In consequence of the refusal of Brigade-General Nogues to accede to any terms, and the expectation of approaching rains, it became necessary to get possession of the *Morne Fortune* with as little delay as possible. It was therefore determined, on the morning of the 22d, to attack the fortress by assault; which was done accordingly at four o'clock; and it was carried in about half an hour,

and with less loss, considering the resistance, than could have been expected. " I cannot omit a circumstance," says General Grinfield in his official dispatch, " which reflects so much credit, as well on the British nation, as on the conduct of the soldiers actually employed, that notwithstanding the severe and spirited resistance of the French troops, yet no sooner were the works carried by assault, and the opposition no longer existed, than every idea of animosity appeared to cease, and not a French soldier was either killed or wounded." The island was, in consequence, unconditionally restored to the British government. Such have been the vicissitudes that have attended the civil history of St. Lucia.

This island is situated in latitude 13° 25′ north, and longitude 60° 58′ west from London; and lies about seventy miles to the N. N. W. of Barbadoes. In France, it is most generally known by the name of *Sainte Alousie;* from a tradition which prevails, that it was first discovered by some French navigators, on the anniversary of a virgin martyr of that name. On this island there are two remarkably high mountains, which retain unquestionable marks of decayed volcanoes. These mountains are distinguishable at a considerable distance, both by sea and land; they are known by the appellation of *The Needles of Sainte Alousie,* and in many places are extremely difficult of ascent, being uncommonly steep and rugged. At the feet of these mountains there are delightful plains and vallies, well watered by salubrious springs and rivulets.

" In one deep valley," says Raynal, " there are eight or " ten ponds, the water of which boils up in a most dreadful " manner, and retains some of its heat at the distance of " *six thousand fathoms* from its reservoirs." These facts are strong indications that the subterranean fires, though confined and diminished, are not wholly extinguished; and they afford some presumptive evidence, that an eruption may hereafter break out, and commit ravages, of which we can form no adequate calculations. The country, comparatively speaking, is still overrun with woods of different species, more especially with trees of an enormous size, which yield excellent timber, both for ship-building, and for constructing the wooden houses of the inhabitants.

Some parts, however, of the vallies are cleared and planted, and are found to be very productive in sugar. " There are not, indeed," observes Raynal, " many ex- " tensive plains, but there are several small ones, where

" the growth of sugar may be carried to fifteen millions " weight. The shape of the island, which is long and nar- " row, will make the carriage easy wherever the canes are " planted."

In common with most other West India Islands, St. Lucia partakes of the good and evil of its situation. It has been said that the climate is unhealthy, and the soil unproductive; and the prevalency of these opinions, most probably, not only retarded its early settlement, but actually confirmed, by the inactivity which it produced, those very evils on which the complaint was presumed to rest. Confident, from general report, that nature had withheld those blessings which were essential to the welfare of a colony;—had bestowed upon it a sterility of soil, which would absorb manure without producing any reward;—and had breathed upon it a pestilential atmosphere, which must prove destructive to all—no proper efforts were made in early years to detect these fallacies; so that the noxious vapors and unwholesome air, which were dissipated in most of the other islands by a free circulation, were here, through the overgrowth of wood, permitted to continue without any disturbance. Experiment has, however, taught the settlers a very different lesson. Like the inland parts of all the other islands, they found that of St. Lucia, at first, exceedingly insalubrious; but in proportion as the woods were removed, and a free circulation opened to the breezes, the stagnant vapors gradually dispersed, and the country became more healthy.

On one part of the leeward side, insalubrity appears to arise from another cause. The waters which issue from the sides of the mountains, have to pass over plains which are devoid of declivity, before they can reach the shore, at the extremities of which, without any commotion, they mingle with the great deep. Flowing thus, with little or no descent, the influx of the tides and waves sometimes chokes up their mouths, and obliges them to corrupt and stagnate in the swamps and morasses which they occasion. Of this evil the savages were well aware, and prudently removed to those parts of the island which these noxious effluvia could not reach. The French, however, too wise to be instructed by savages, scorned to follow their example, and actually fixed upon this very spot. Here they erected their dwellings, and spread their plantations; " and sooner or " later," says Raynal, " they will be punished for their

" blind rapaciousness, unless they erect dykes, or cut canals, " to drain off the waters."

On the whole, the climate of St. Lucia cannot, even in its present improved condition, be considered in the most favorable light. This the French have repeatedly experienced, especially among their military, in different periods. During the time that it remained in our hands, previously to the last capture, our garrison also, as well as the adventurers who went thither from the mother-country in the capacity of planters with a design to settle, suffered severely.

In those swampy parts which the French had selected for their habitations, the unhealthiness of the climate was not the only evil with which they had to contend. In these morasses the brownish grey snake has taken up his abode, the bite of which infuses a poison of the most deadly nature, and proves mortal if antidotes are not readily applied. The boldness of these noxious reptiles is as daring as their poison is deleterious; and, as if conscious of the fatality which attends their bite, instead of attempting to shun the approach of danger, they seek for opportunities to communicate their venom. They frequently take up their residence near the inhabited houses; and, concealing themselves both from suspicion and sight, dart suddenly, unperceived, upon their unhappy victims, who know nothing of their danger until the fatal wound is given.

In bays and harbors, St. Lucia boasts a superiority over many other islands; and even the advantages of all seem to centre in one of them, known by the name of *Careenage Harbor*. In every part this harbor has most excellent soundings, and a firm bottom, and is sufficiently capacious for thirty sail of the line to ride in with the utmost safety, completely sheltered from those hurricanes which visit the tropical regions. Hitherto, those worms which have proved so injurious to the timbers of shipping in the harbors of other islands, have been unknown in this. Those boats which have been kept for domestic purposes, have escaped the ravages of these injurious insects, though, in all probability, they will, in time, be imported from the other islands. " Nature," says Raynal, [he should have said " God,"] " has provided this harbor with three *careening places*, which " render wharfs unnecessary, and only require a capstern " to heave the ship down to the shore. The winds are " always favorable for going out, and the largest squadron " might be cleared out in less than an hour."

Such are the principal advantages and disadvantages of

the island of St. Lucia. The climate, without doubt, might be rendered less insalubrious through the joint application of industry and art; while the soil would sufficiently repay the hand of industrious cultivation. The natural advantages which it presents, afford inducements that counterbalance many temporary and local evils; and, lured by the prospect of wealth, men will be found to embark in the hazardous enterprise of clearing and draining the lands, though they may perish in the attempt. Posterity may, nevertheless, reap advantages from their industrious ancestors, through this medium, without having wealth immediately bequeathed. Generation after generation may, however, pass away before these blessings can be realized in their fullest extent; and in the meanwhile, many serious evils may be experienced. But should peace be permitted to take up her happy residence, and establish her lasting empire, in this our disordered world, the mutual co-operation of nations in amity with each other may rescue from the dominions of chaos, not only St. Lucia, but many other fertile regions of the globe. Soon may that happy moment arrive, when the nations of the earth shall learn war no more!

With respect to Religion, from its civil and natural history, nothing very favorable can be expected from St. Lucia. The wild and fantastic notions of the Charaibees we have already delineated at large in the third chapter of this work; on them, therefore, nothing now need be said. And as the European settlers were chiefly French, we learn from their early annals, as well as from their natural characteristic, that they were Roman Catholics.

In those intervals of possession which preceded the revolution in France, some few Missionaries of the order of the Dominicans were sent over to instruct the slaves. These were also accompanied by a few Jesuits, who, by occasionally visiting and residing upon the island, took no small pains to instil into the minds of the negroes the principles of morality and virtue. But through that gloomy spirit of intolerance which associates itself with that communion, no Protestant worship was permitted; consequently, the pure gospel, unalloyed with whimsical superstition and error, has not yet made its appearance on the island.

The commotions which took place in France, it is well known, shook morality to its centre. The evil was not merely felt in the mother-country, but it extended to the remote extremities and appendages of the empire. St.

Lucia felt the shock. The republican Governors and officers paid little or no attention to religious concerns; and consequently, a looseness, both in principle and practice, prevailed among all ranks. This was peculiarly the case when the British troops took possession of the island in 1794. At that period, licentiousness and immorality, in all their branches, prevailed, accompanied with a total disregard of all religious ordinances.

But we now entertain hopes, that from the introduction of a British garrison and British planters, a wide door will soon be opened for the dissemination of pure divine truth in St. Lucia, especially among the slaves; nor shall *we* neglect, under the grace and providence of God, to use all our endeavors to accomplish so desirable an end.

CHAP. XXVII.

HISTORY OF MARTINICO.

Situation.—Original Settlement.—War with the Natives, and their final Extermination.—Captures and Restorations.—Ancient Mode of transacting Business.—Towns, Edifices, picturesque Scenery, Bays, and Harbors.—Prosperity and Disasters of the Colony.—Infested by Ants.—Account of these Ants.—Hurricanes.—Articles exported.—Population.—Introduction and Description of the Sugar Cane.—Cotton, a Description of it.—Coffee.—Indigo, Manner of manufacturing it.—French Missionaries.—Father Labat's Embarkation, Voyage, and Arrival at Martinico.—Labors of these Missionaries; Perseverance, Self-denial, and Dangers to which they were exposed.

THIS is the first of the windward islands in a direct voyage from Europe to the West Indies. It lies between the 14th and 15th degrees of north latitude, and in 61 degrees of longitude, west from London; at the distance of forty leagues north-west of Barbadoes. Guthrie computes its length to be about sixty English miles, and its breadth thirty; but better authorities state its length to be only forty-four miles. Probably the difference arises from an inaccuracy in calculating the French measurement.

Martinico was one of the earliest and the principal settlement of the French in the West Indies. It was the residence of the Governor-General of all their other possessions in the Antilles, and the rendezvous of their fleets and privateers in times of war, whilst it continued in their possession.

The original founders of this French colony consisted of a hundred men, selected for that purpose by *Denambuc*, the Governor of the island of St. Christopher. They were brave, active, inured to labor and fatigues, skilful in tilling the ground, and in erecting habitations, and abundantly supplied with various plants and seeds. They landed without opposition in the year 1635, and proceeded in forming a

settlement. The natives, being either intimidated by their fire-arms, or seduced by their promises, quietly gave up to them the western and southern parts of the island, and retired to the mountains and woods. But when they saw the numbers of these enterprising strangers daily increasing by fresh arrivals, they secretly resolved to extirpate them, and engaged their brethren, the Charaibees of the neighbouring islands, to come to their assistance. Thus strengthened, the united corps of savages proceeded suddenly to attack a small fort erected by the French, where they met with such a warm reception, that they thought proper to retreat, leaving seven or eight hundred of their best warriors dead upon the spot. After this severe repulse, they totally disappeared for a considerable time; and when they ventured to return, it was with presents, accompanied by submissive speeches. They were received in a friendly manner by Denambuc and his people, and the reconciliation was completed with some pots of brandy, which they eagerly accepted.

Before this event, the labors of the new colonists had been carried on with great difficulty and delay. The fear of surprise obliged the owners of three different habitations to meet every night in the central dwelling, which was always kept in a state of defence. There they all slept securely, guarded by their dogs, and a centinel. In the day-time no one ventured out without his gun, and a brace of pistols in his girdle. But after peace was re-established, these precautions were discontinued, and the settlement was completed. In the course of a few years, however, fresh disputes arose, owing to the French daily extending their possessions. When the Charaibees, whose wandering mode of life required a great extent of land, found themselves confined within too narrow limits, they had recourse to a stratagem to cut off the encroachers by degrees. Not daring to attack them by open force, they formed themselves into small separate parties, and way-laid the first who frequented the woods in pursuit of game. As soon as the sportsman had discharged his piece, they rushed upon him, without giving him time to reload it, and murdered him. Several men had been assassinated in this manner, before the cause of their not returning to their habitations was discovered. But when it was found out, the resentment of the colonists was so violent, that a general massacre of the Charaibees took place, extending even to their wives and children. Their carbets, or huts, were set on fire, or razed to the

ground; and the few that escaped the carnage in their canoes, never returned.

By this act of retaliation and indiscriminate revenge, the French became complete masters of the island, and continued to live upon those parts which they found best adapted to their convenience and choice. They were formed of two descriptions; and, after the extermination of the unhappy Charaibees, were divided into two distinct classes. Both, indeed, had come from Europe; but the former, having paid their passage, were under no obligations, and were, therefore, called *inhabitants;* while the latter, having been brought out at the expense of the former, were denominated *engagés,* or bondsmen. These, in Europe, had been considered in the light of disorderly persons, and for the payment of their passage, they were under an engagement to serve the *inhabitants* three years as the price of their freedom. To the inhabitants the government had distributed lands; which, upon paying an annual tribute, became their exclusive and absolute property. To the *engagés,* after the expiration of their servitude, the same privileges were extended: they had, therefore, only to wait for the recovery of their liberty, before they became the equals of those whom they had been accustomed to serve.

They all confined themselves, at first, to the culture of tobacco and cotton. The arnotto and indigo succeeded soon after; but the sugar plantations were not begun till about the year 1650. The cocoa tree was next introduced by De Costa, a Jew; but the plantation of it met with little encouragement till 1684, when the use of chocolate prevailed in France; it was then that the cocoa tree became the chief dependance of those colonists who had not a sufficient capital to undertake sugar plantations. But all the cocoa trees were destroyed by a hurricane in 1718, to the great consternation of the inhabitants of the island.

To indemnify the colonists for these severe losses, the French ministry procured a substitute. France had received, as a present from the Dutch, two coffee trees, which had been planted with success in the royal botanical garden at Paris. From these trees two young shoots were taken, and sent to Martinico, under the care of Desclieux, a botanist. In the course of his voyage across the Atlantic, the ship in which he sailed fell short of water. All were obliged to go on short allowance; but Desclieux, with a magnanimity which deserves to be recorded, shared with his young trees

the small portion of water which fell to his lot, and by this generous sacrifice preserved them alive, and landed them safely in Martinico. The soil proving congenial to their natures, they flourished in a most astonishing manner; and opened to the inhabitants a new source both of industry and wealth. Continuing productive, they have enriched by their branches this important colony; so that, even to the present day, coffee is esteemed one of its most valuable and profitable commodities.

Its central situation and its vast importance have, in every rupture between Great Britain and France, rendered its acquisition by the former essentially necessary for the protection of her commerce. Hence the capture of this island has always been considered a primary object. And this political state of things accounts for the vicissitudes which it has undergone.

The first capture of Martinico by our nation was in the war of 1755, when the plan of attacking it was projected by Mr. Pitt (the late Earl of Chatham), though he was not in the administration when the conquest was effected. It had been attempted in the year 1759; but the force employed at that period was not equal to the magnitude of the enterprize. Three years after, when the late Earl of Bute took the lead in the ministry, preparations adequate to the design were gradually and secretly made in England and in America, and the most effectual means were concerted to enforce a successful issue. Eighteen regiments of infantry, sent from Europe and North America, under the command of General Monkton, and eighteen men of war of different rates, but all of them line of battle ships, commanded by Admiral Rodney, appeared off the island on the 16th of January 1762. The troops were landed the next day with little or no loss. But the eminences which were fortified by strong batteries, and defended by the guns of Fort Royal, were not easily gained. Several severe skirmishes took place during the siege, in which some of our veteran soldiers lost their lives. The army, however, was bravely and skilfully supported by the fleet, from which, bomb-vessels were sent so closely to the land, that the town must have been reduced to ashes, if it had not surrendered by capitulation, which it did on the 13th of February. The Abbé Raynal is of opinion, that intelligence received from their countrymen, of the prosperity of Guadaloupe since it had been under the British government, facilitated this early surrender, which, he thinks, might and ought to have been

delayed much longer. Be this as it may, Grenada, and the other leeward islands, as well those belonging to France, as those which were considered as neutral by former treaties of peace, were so intimidated, that they sent out flags of truce to the English Admiral, and to the Commander-in-chief of the land forces, assuring them of a peaceful surrender without any opposition, and a readiness to put themselves under the protection of the King of Great Britain. And here we must admit the justness of an observation made by the same author, respecting those easy captures; the surrender of this, and other French islands, in the late and present war, confirming its truth by recent examples.

"A people, whose whole fortunes consist in arable lands "and pastures, will, if influenced by a martial spirit, reso- "lutely defend their possessions. The harvest of one year "is the utmost they can lose; and whatever reverse of "fortune they may experience, it does not ruin them alto- "gether. The case is very different with regard to the "wealthy cultivators of the West India Islands. Whenever "they take up arms, they run the risk of having the labors "of their whole lives destroyed, their slaves carried off, and "all the hopes of their posterity lost, either by fire or "plunder; they, therefore, generally submit to a powerful "enemy, on honorable terms; by which, they preserve "their property. The modern mode of terminating wars "by treaties of peace on the basis of *statu quo*, or, restor- "ing possessions to the nation to which they belonged "before a war, must also have a considerable influence in "producing only a lukewarm attachment to both parties."

In the expedition against this island, by our navy and army, under the command of Admiral Sir John Jervis, afterwards Earl of St. Vincent, and Sir Charles Grey, Commander of the land forces, the colony was so gallantly defended by the garrison, that the forts and towns of St. Pierre and Fort Royal were taken sword in hand. But as the inhabitants, who were supposed to be discontented with the revolution, and with the anarchy at that time prevailing in the mother-country, did not make any extraordinary exertions during the attack, they were mildly treated by the victors, and their property was secured from plunder. De Rochambeau, Commander-in-chief of the French West India Islands, signed the capitulation on the 23d of March 1794, and the British crown kept possession of this very important colony upwards of eight years; a longer term than any similar conquest had remained under our government in former periods;

but it was again restored to France by the treaty of Amiens.

Divine Providence, however, has since given back to the dominion of a British Sovereign, the valuable island now the subject of our consideration. The conquest was effected in a most gallant manner, by the troops commanded by Major-General Maitland (acting under the orders of Lieutenant-General Beckwith), on the 24th of February 1809; the attack being aided by the indefatigable exertions of Rear-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane and his squadron. It will not be necessary for us to enter on a detail of the naval and military proceedings of this enterprise; but we cannot resist the impulse which we feel to do justice to the modesty of the Commander of his Majesty's forces in the leeward islands, by inserting the following extract from his official dispatch to government on the occasion:

"The command of such an army," says General Beckwith, "will constitute the pride of my future life. To these brave troops, conducted by Generals of experience, and not to me, their King and country owe the sovereignty of this important colony: and I trust, that by a comparison of the force which defended it, and the time in which it has fallen, the present reduction of Martinico will not be deemed eclipsed by any former expedition.

"After the embarkation of the French troops, I shall have the honor to command the eagles taken from the enemy to be laid at the King's feet."

Martinico enjoys many natural advantages, which must always give it a decided preference to all the settlements that were lately in the possession of the French in the West Indies, if not to all our own ancient colonies. Its harbors afford a safe shelter for ships of war, as well as for merchant-ships, from the hurricanes, which destroy so many vessels in these latitudes. Its numerous rivers are navigable for loaded canoes, from its coasts, almost to their different sources; and the fertility of the soil, in most parts, produces abundant harvests and crops of the articles already mentioned. The island is defended by four strong forts, viz. Fort Royal, Fort St. Peter, Fort Trinity, and Fort de Mouillage; the two principal of which are Fort Royal and Fort St. Pierre, both of them having towns named after them. The town of Fort, or Port Royal, was the capital of the island in the infancy of the colony; but as it increased in cultivation and opulence, the merchants and planters found it more convenient to make St. Pierre the centre of commerce; by which means it afterwards became the capital, and the residence

of the Governor and General. This town, at first, was little more than a village and a depository. It chiefly consisted of storehouses for the commodities of some districts, situated along such dreary and tempestuous coasts, that no ship could approach near enough to trade with them, which obliged the inhabitants to remove to situations more convenient for disposing of their commodities. The agents for these colonists, in those early times, were no other than the masters of small vessels, who, having made themselves known by continually sailing round the island, were induced by a prospect of gain, to fix upon some certain place of residence. St. Pierre was one. Honesty was the sole recommendation to their employers. Most of them could not read; and none of them kept any books or journals. They had a trunk, in which they kept a separate bag for each person whose business they transacted. Into this bag they put the produce of their sales, and took out what money they wanted for their purchases. When the bag was empty, the commission was at an end. This confidence was common so recently as the beginning of the late century, however fabulous it may appear at present.

From such small beginnings the little town of St. Pierre rose into consequence; and though reduced to ashes by four dreadful fires, it sprung up again, phœnix like, with considerable improvements. It contains upwards of two thousand houses, several elegant public edifices, and some spacious streets. It is situated on the western coast of the island, in a bay, or inlet, nearly circular; and is divided into two parts by a rivulet, or fordable river.

On an extensive quay, screened by a lofty and almost perpendicular hill, a range of warehouses and some private dwelling-houses make a pretty appearance from on board of ships, which generally cast anchor in the bay opposite to it; being the safest, and having the greatest depth of water, of any part of the coast. On this account, the quay and buildings are called the anchorage. The convent of the Jacobins faces the sea, is the central building, and is a magnificent edifice built of stone, of which there is a great plenty in the island. It contains, independently of the chapel and the cells of the friars, a large hall, a spacious refectory, and elegant apartments, which had been appropriated by the French government for particular officers, sent on different occasions to inspect the state of its marine.

From the anchorage, or Mouillage, there is an excellent

road to the town, which renders its situation very convenient for loading and unloading, and for conveying goods to and from the ships. And another advantage of this quay is, that ships can come almost close in with it, and depart from it at all times, and with all winds.

In the district called the *Carbet*, from its having been the residence of the Charaibees, who had formerly, in this quarter, one of their largest villages, and a handsome edifice for holding their assemblies, called a *Carbet*, the Jesuits had a superb convent, anciently the Governor's palace. On the seat of government being removed to St. Pierre, it became the property of the members of that order, who made considerable additions to the edifice. They also surrounded it with beautiful gardens, bordered with choice fruit-trees, and embellished with the most curious exotic and native plants and flowers. They had, likewise, another noble building, at a small distance from the present government-house, in Fort St. Pierre, pleasantly situated on the banks of a river, on that account called the Jesuits' river. This edifice is built with bricks, and cased with free-stone, and is so strong and so large, that it has served upon different occasions as a citadel. Most of the private houses, however, are constructed entirely of wood; and the most considerable are erected upon small round eminences, called by the inhabitants Mornes. This situation not only renders them more healthy than the habitations in the *basse terre*, or plains, but likewise affords an agreeable perspective view from the sea-coast and the harbor.

The fluctuations of Martinico, with respect to commercial prosperity, have been very great; so that no regular account can be given of its increase or diminution. It has been subject to dreadful natural calamities, besides that unnatural scourge, the horrors of war. Its zenith of prosperity, in respect to wealth, is supposed to have been a few years prior to the war with us, which broke out in the year 1744, when the colonists carried on an illegal, but most profitable, contraband trade with the Spanish coasts of America and with Canada. By the former of these, more especially, they were considerably enriched, being plentifully supplied with silver coin in return for their native products. By this intercourse, Spanish dollars became the current specie in circulation throughout all the West India Islands, and remain so to this day. Their commerce with France was, likewise, very extensive. But such was the avidity of the planters and the merchants, who expected to make still

greater fortunes by a petty warfare, than by the cultivation of their lands, that in the first six months of the war, no less than forty large privateers were fitted out at the Mouillage of St. Pierre, independently of those that were sent out from Port Royal. These Privateers spread themselves in such a manner in all the latitudes of the Charaibean seas, that few English merchant-ships escaped them, till a sufficient force was sent from England to protect and convoy the British trade to the West Indies, and to scour the seas. In the meantime, the French privateers were daily returning to Martinico in triumph, laden with an immense booty. But, the commercial navigation to the Spanish coasts, and to the continent of North America, was neglected for this transitory success; and in the course of a year or two, our naval force on the West India station was so superior to that of France, that their privateers and merchant-ships were blocked up in the ports, not only of Martinico, but of all the other French islands. The few ships that arrived in safety from France, in order to compensate for the great risks they ran, sold their merchandise very dear, and bought the returns very cheap. The produce of the island being thus undervalued, the lands were but poorly cultivated, the sugar, indigo, and other works were neglected, and the slaves starved. Every thing was in a languid state, and falling to decay. The war, however, was but of short duration; and the peace of 1748 raised the hopes of the inhabitants, that they should recover the ancient prosperity of the colony.

But a fresh obstacle disappointed the expectations of the merchants. The system of the Spanish government, with respect to the mode of sending home their treasures from Mexico, and their other possessions in America, underwent a total change about the year 1750; when they appointed the register ships, called galleons, instead of fleets, as formerly, to convey their bullion to Europe. Neither their number, nor their time of sailing and arrival, were made known. And this uncertainty caused such a variation in the prices of the commodities usually purchased by the French smugglers of Martinico, that they no longer found it advantageous to run the hazard of being taken by the guarda costas, or armed vessels, which were constantly stationed on the coasts of the American territories of Spain, to watch this illegal commerce. Thus the trade was finally lost.

Another misfortune was brought upon the inhabitants by the mother-country. A corrupt administration at Versailles clogged the reciprocal and necessary connexion between the

West India Islands and the continent of North America with so many restrictions and formalities, that in the year 1755 Martinico sent but four small vessels, instead of twenty, and sometimes thirty, of different burdens, to Canada. In addition to this, the management of the colonies, by the venality of the ministers at home, fell into the hands of extortionate *(commis)* clerks abroad; by which their governments were degraded, sunk into contempt, and prostituted to cupidity. The subsequent capture of the island by the British, the cession of Canada to our crown by the peace of 1763, and the putting of a stop to the trade of the British islands with the French, were fresh impediments to the recovery of the former flourishing state of Martinico.

To these inconveniences of a political nature was added a terrible visitation by a species of ants, formerly unknown in America. These insects were, undoubtedly, brought to these islands with the ships that bring the negroes from Africa, where they abound, and raise pyramidical nests in hillocks of considerable heights. Some time before they appeared in Martinico, they had ravaged Barbadoes to such a degree, that it was deliberated, whether that island, formerly so flourishing, should not be deserted. This calamity was first experienced at Martinico in the autumn of 1763, and was not entirely overcome till the year 1766. When it raged with its greatest fury, it did inconceivable mischief. All the culinary vegetables were destroyed; the quadrupeds were hardly able to subsist; and the largest trees were infested in such a manner with these insects, that the most voracious birds would not light upon them. In short, the greatest precaution was requisite to prevent their attacks on men who were afflicted with sores, on women who were confined in childbed, and on children that were unable to assist themselves.

Prior to these periods, various species of ants had long been known in most of the West India Islands; but from their being, comparatively, harmless, they excited little or no attention. For though their numbers were far from being inconsiderable, their depredations were confined to such articles as were of little value; and the sugar-cane entirely escaped their ravages. But with the insects of which we now speak, the case stands exactly reversed. It was to the sugar-plantations that they chiefly attached themselves; many of which they totally destroyed, both in this island and Grenada; and, from this circumstance, became distinguished by the appellation of sugar-ants. Of the devastations which

they committed in Martinico, as it then belonged to France, our accounts are less distinct than those which were transmitted from our own colonies. But as they were, evidently, imported into the latter from the former, a description of them merits attention, and becomes appropriate in this place.

Not more than five years had elapsed, from the time in which these sugar-ants had spread desolation in Martinico, before they made their appearance a second time; and, from the immensity of their numbers, they spread terror and devastation in almost every part. This was about the year 1770. But whether they sprang from fresh colonies which had been imported from Africa, or from some few which had remained unobserved from their late irruption, it is difficult to determine. But, from what cause soever they originated, they were soon discovered in Grenada; into which place, it was presumed, they were brought in the same year, by some vessels employed in a contraband traffic carried on between that island and Martinico. Here they multiplied with such prodigious rapidity, as to excite the attention of the legislature, and even to endanger the future prosperity of the inhabitants. From a letter to which their depredations gave rise, we learn the following interesting particulars. It was written by John Castles, Esq. to General Melville, who had formerly been Governor of Grenada, and was read before the Royal Society of London, in the month of May 1790.

These insects are described, by this gentleman, to be of a slender make, of a middling size, of a dark red color, remarkable for the acidity of their taste when applied to the tongue, and peculiarly active in all their motions. Their numbers are represented as being so immense, as to have covered the roads for many miles together; so that the impressions made by the feet of such horses as travelled over them could be seen distinctly, in many places, for some moments, till they were filled up by the surrounding swarms. Though easily distinguishable from the common ants, by the peculiarities which have been mentioned, there was another criterion which was always infallible; this was, the strong sulphureous smell which they constantly emitted, when a quantity of them was rubbed together. And from this vitriolic emission, many inferred their hostility to vegetation. Their first appearance was on a sugar-plantation, about five miles from the capital. And from this place

extending themselves in every direction, in the space of a few years, they covered a tract twelve miles in length, destroying the sugar-canes, blasting vegetation, and reducing a spot which had been remarkable for its fertility to a state of the most deplorable desolation.

The places which they selected for their nests were those which promised them the greatest security against heavy rains, which they seemed unable to withstand. On this account, they instinctively chose to deposit their eggs beneath the roots of the sugar-cane, as affording them the most permanent shelter; and next to these, beneath those of the lime, the lemon, and the orange trees. And hence it became necessary to destroy the plant, or tree, in order to reach the habitation in which they propagated their species. But, as this would have been productive of evils equally pernicious with those which were designed to be remedied, the inhabitants were obliged to resort to other expedients.

Among the various experiments which were attempted, in order to destroy them, those which proved most successful were poison and fire. To render the former efficacious, arsenic and corrosive sublimate were mixed with such animal substances as they had been observed most greedily to devour. The effects produced by this method were astonishingly great, but insufficient to reach the end which was designed. Multitudes fell by the arsenic; and myriads more were destroyed by those that had tasted of the corrosive sublimate, and were by that means rendered so outrageous, as to prey on such as came within their reach. But this method of destruction was found to be too tardy for the pressing exigency. Multiplication kept pace with the operation of the poison; so that no end appeared to the application, and it was found impossible to extend it over a hundred-thousandth portion of the ground which they occupied.

A greater probability of success attended the application of fire. It was found, that when wood had been reduced to charcoal, and was laid in their way, they crowded about the smoking brand in such immense numbers as to extinguish it entirely, while thousands upon thousands perished in the heap which was raised by their numerous bodies. But these applications, though sufficient to prevent the rapidity of their increase, could scarcely reduce their numbers, much less exterminate their race. For this, no specific was ever discovered by the exercise of art. But the same Divine Power which brought this plague upon the inhabitants, provided for their deliverance from it. The

dreadful hurricane of 1780, which proved so calamitous to many of the islands, produced in Grenada the effect which the legislature had offered twenty thousand pounds to have accomplished. The sugar-ants disappeared in an instant before the violence of this tornado, and the people were immediately relieved from the painful apprehensions under which they had so long labored. The same cause, most probably, produced the same effect in Martinico.

The dreadful hurricane which happened in 1766, which tore up the canes and cotton-trees, destroyed most of the water and all the wind-mills, demolished several indigo and sugar-works, and otherwise spread desolation throughout this island, has given no small degree of sanction to this opinion. The first appearance of the ants was in 1763, and they were not entirely overcome till 1766, the very year in which the hurricane took place. Their total destruction has not, indeed, been attributed either to this or any other cause; but if from what is known to have taken place in Grenada, we may presume to infer the operation of the same cause in Martinico, we shall be no longer at a loss to account for their sudden disappearance. Thus far the facts are similar, and reason will justify the analogy.

Destructive as the hurricane of 1766 was, it may well be questioned, whether the effects resulting from it have not been productive of more benefits than evils, when considered in all their circumstances. If the ants had been permitted to continue their ravages, they would, in all probability, have so far destroyed vegetation, as to render the island unworthy of cultivation, if they had not compelled the inhabitants to abandon it altogether. The cause through which they were destroyed was, without all doubt, both afflictive and severe; but dreadful as its effects were, they were comparatively limited in their extent, and of short duration. The hurricane was soon blown over; and the uncertainty of its returning again inspired the inhabitants with fresh vigor to rescue the fragments of their dwellings, and the ruins of their plantations, from the surrounding desolation.

Success very shortly crowned their vigorous efforts. For in the year 1769, according to the statement given by the Abbé Raynal, France imported from Martinico, in one hundred and two trading vessels, 177,116 quintals of refined sugar, and 12,579 quintals of raw sugar; 68,518 quintals of coffee; 11,731 quintals of cocoa; 6,048 quintals of cotton; 2,518 quintals of cassia; 783 casks of rum; 307 casks of syrup; 150 pounds of indigo; 2,147 pounds of preserved

fruits; 47 pounds of chocolate; 282 pounds of rasped tobacco; 494 pounds of rope-yarn; 234 chests of liqueurs; 234 barrels of Molasses; 451 quintals of wood for dyeing; and 12,108 hides in the hair. In 1770, according to the account given by the same author, the state of population stood as follows within the compass of 28 parishes: white people, including men, women, and children, 12,450; free blacks and mulattoes, 1,814; negro slaves, 70,553; and 443 fugitive negroes. At this period, the inhabitants might be divided into four classes: the first, consisted of proprietors of a hundred large sugar plantations, in which 12,000 negroes were employed; the second, of those possessed of one hundred and fifty plantations, worked by 9,000 negroes; the third, possessed of thirty-six, with 2,000 negroes; the fourth class, occupied in the culture of coffee, cotton, cocoa, indigo, and cassava, might employ about 12,000 negroes. The remaining slaves, of both sexes, were engaged in domestic services, in fishing, or in navigation.

"The first class," he observes, "consists entirely of "opulent persons. The second, which is that of planters "in easy circumstances, have but half the hands that would "be necessary to get fortunes equal to those of the first. "The third class, who are but one remove from indigence, "cannot better their situation by any means that can be de- "vised in the ordinary course of trade. It is as much as "they can do to support themselves and families. The "beneficent hand of government can alone impart relief to "them, and make them useful to the state, by lending them, "without interest, the sums they may want to raise the pro- "ductions of their plantations in the proper seasons. The "fourth class, who cultivate articles of less risk and import- "ance than sugar-canes, do not stand in need of such large "capitals, to recover that ease and plenty, of which they "have been deprived by wars, hurricanes, and other disasters; "they keep but few negroes, and are not subject to heavy "expenses." On the whole, we may perceive the importance and value of this colony as annexed to the British empire.

As the sugar-cane is productive of the largest and most profitable branches of commerce which the West India Islands hold with the nations of Europe, an account of this valuable plant has a claim upon the attention of every writer and every reader of their history. Martinico has had the honor of first cherishing the richest species of this important article. From this place it was carried into other parts of

this Archipelago, in which its cultivation has since been brought to the highest state of perfection. This island may, therefore, in this respect, be considered as the common parent of all; and to it belongs the brief description which we shall give of its antiquity, introduction, and nature.

The origin and antiquity of the sugar-cane have been subjects of much pedantic discussion. Herrera, the Spanish historian of the West Indies, Lafitau and Labat, the French writers on the same subject, and Peter Martyr, in his decades of the second voyage of Columbus, have employed many of their pages in endeavoring to trace with accuracy these curious and interesting facts. To each of these writers, as well as to the Bible, to Dioscorides, and Lucan, Mr. Bryan Edwards has had recourse, and has deduced from the whole a mass of materials, rather discordant than instructive, calculated more to bewilder the judgment than to impart light to the understanding. But since we have not undertaken to write a commercial history of the West Indies, we have no occasion to enter into an elaborate detail of circumstances, on which historians are divided in their opinions. We will, therefore, only select from the collective authorities of the above writers, such facts as appear most unquestionable. These may be comprized in the following particulars.

The sugar-cane is admitted by all to be a native of the East-Indies, and was cultivated both there and in Arabia, with different degrees of attention, from periods too remote to come within the reach of legitimate history. In the time of the Croisades, its importance became known to those romantic adventurers; and it was soon afterwards propagated in several islands of the Mediterranean; but by whom, it is not easy to ascertain. The plant having flourished in these regions upwards of three centuries before Columbus discovered America, its properties and value could not but be well known to him, long before the western world appeared to crown with glory his adventurous toils. On surveying superficially the botanical productions of the islands which he discovered, and not finding the sugar-cane, it is natural to suppose, that he thought to enrich them with what he imagined to be a valuable exotic, without once conceiving, that a more minute examination would have proved the plant to be indigenous. Both of these facts appear to be clearly ascertained. It is asserted by Herrera, that it was carried from the Canaries to Hispaniola in 1506. But Peter Martyr assures us, that it was well known in that

island so early as 1495. It is no difficult matter to reconcile these accounts. Columbus might have transplanted it thither, as stated by Herrera, without knowing that it was a native of the island; or, he might have done it by way of experiment, to prove the nature of the soil, and see how far it was congenial to the productions of the eastern hemisphere.

The subsequent accounts, which various circumnavigators have given, confirm the opinion which few, at first, were ready to admit,—that it has been found spontaneously springing from the earth, between the tropics, in different portions of the globe. It has been discovered on the banks of the rivers Rio del Plata and Janeiro,—near the mouth of the Mississippi,—in the islands of Guadaloupe and St. Vincent's —and was, more recently, found by our illustrious countryman, Captain Cook, in various islands of the Pacific ocean. No country, therefore, has a right to arrogate to itself the exclusive honor of having given birth to this most valuable production of the vegetable creation. The Author of nature seems to have scattered his blessings with a diffusive hand, and to have planted this rich display of his bounty in most places which were adapted to its growth.

But in what countries soever the sugar-cane has been discovered spontaneously growing, there is not one, not even in the East Indies, in which it has been cultivated to such perfection and extent, as to render it a principal article of foreign commerce, except the islands of the West Indies. The importance of the sugar-cane, which now surpasses the mines of Mexico and Peru in value, was no sooner ascertained, than it gave rise to experiments, which have tended to enhance its worth. Those species which have been found most superior in quality, were imported by the French into Martinico from the island of Bourbon. Their superlative excellency soon became known to Sir John Laforey, an English Admiral on the West India station; who, anxious to improve his own estate in Antigua, found means to procure some slips from the French planters. These he propagated on his own plantation with considerable success. From this estate they were transplanted into others; and hence, from one British colony to another, till their cultivation became so general, as to be more than a sufficient supply for the mother-country.

The Martinico, or Malabar cane, is much larger than that which is of the native growth of our islands. When prepared for the grinding-mill, it weighs nearly one-third part more, and, consequently, is more productive, and more profitable

to the planter. In addition to this, it is much quicker in its growth, and ripens with greater speed.

Sugar-canes, in general, resemble the common reeds that are found growing spontaneously, in most countries of Europe, on the banks of rivers, and in marshy grounds; but the rind, or bark, of the reed is hard and dry, and the pulp without juice. The coat of the sugar-cane, on the contrary, is rather soft; and the spungy substance inclosed within it is full of juice, the abundance and sweetness of which is proportioned to the richness of the soil in which it is planted;—to its exposure to the sun;—to its age;—and to the season in which it is cut down. These four circumstances ascertain the principles and causes of the varying height, thickness, and quality of these plants, and of the greater or less difficulty experienced in purifying and baking their juice to make it into moist, dry, and loaf sugar. Hence, according to the quality of the soil, the canes are large or slender, long or short; and the quantity of juice they contain depends on their being more or less exposed to the solar rays. The soil, therefore, which is the best adapted to a profitable cultivation, is a light, reddish, deep mould, sufficiently sloping to carry off the rain water, and to be exposed to the sun from its rising to its setting.

The leaf of this plant is long and straight; and it has but one fibre, which divides it by passing through the middle from one end to the other; this fibre is easily broken when the leaf is dry; but when it is green, or only fading, it is very strong. Both sides of the leaf have a sharp edge, which is armed with small teeth, like a saw; they are almost imperceptible, but will cut through the skin, if the hand passes over them against the grain. The leaves commonly keep growing only at the head of the sugar-cane; those which shoot out from the knots or joints below, fall off as soon as the cane grows above them. It is a sign of the bad quality of a cane, or, at least, that it will be much longer than it ought to be in ripening, if the joints are well furnished with leaves. The best have only a cluster of seven or eight leaves at their summit. There is no certain rule observed in the distance of the knots or joints from each other (two inches may be deemed an average); but the greater that the distance is, the more abundant is the juice contained in the plain length between them; consequently, the canes that have the most knots are of the worst quality.

Some canes grow to an extraordinary height, measuring, according to Labat, no less than twenty-four feet; but,

according to the account given by Mr. Edwards, few are twelve feet in length, exclusively of the tuft of foliage which decorates their tops. But this exuberance, it is admitted by all, is by no means a token of the good quality of the juice which they contain. On the contrary, it is rather a proof, that the soil in which they grew was aquatic, clayey, and unfriendly to their nature; that they will yield a raw and watery sap, affording little sweetness, and will require the consumption of much wood, and a considerable waste of time, in conducting the necessary process of the manufacture—and that they will only produce, at last, an inconsiderable quantity of sugar, and that, too, of an inferior quality. On the contrary, when the canes are from four to seven feet in height, and about an inch in diameter, they promise fair to give a profitable crop. And when, in addition to their size, their coats are observed to be smooth, dry, and brittle, —when their appearance is yellow, and the pith which is contained within them is of a grey color, somewhat tinged with brown;—when their juice is sweet, glutinous, and apparently slightly baked, the symptoms are highly favorable. Under these circumstances, they may be said to be in the highest state of perfection; and the proprietor may be assured, that without much labor or expense they will produce a large quantity of fine sugar.

We shall omit describing the various operations of manufacturing this article of general convenience, now become secondary to the first necessaries of life in most parts of Europe, as it forms no part of our plan to enter into commercial details. But it is a tribute which is due in justice to the description which Labat has given of the progressive stages of the process, and which he has illustrated by correct engravings of the sugar-mills, baking-houses, &c.* to acknowledge the accuracy of his statements. These we have found to be more ample and correct than those of our countryman Edwards, whose justly esteemed work, where it is most original, is professedly a commercial history of the British colonies in the West Indies. This may appear strange, when we reflect on the superior sources of information which were placed within his reach, from his long residence in the country. But the fact is unquestionable, notwithstanding his additional knowledge of the improvements

* See Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique, du Pere Labat, tome 3, page 176 to 448. edit. 1724.

that have been made in every kind of manufacture or fabrication dependent on mechanical machines, from the time of Labat to 1796, the date of the first edition of his work.

The cotton-shrub is the most valuable plant, next to the sugar-cane, of which the West Indies can boast. It is rendered more especially important in our time, because the manufactures of cotton, in their various branches, have been lately brought to a degree of perfection in England, which was formerly unknown. This article affords a considerable annual revenue to government, by the duties which are paid on its importation. The employment which it has given to multitudes, and the wealth which numerous merchants have derived from this source of traffic, have enriched several manufacturing towns; but more particularly Manchester, which, of late years, has attained to a degree of unexampled opulence and magnificence. On these accounts it has a claim on our attention. We shall, therefore, in giving a brief description of it, note what is most remarkable and interesting in its growth and cultivation.

Of the plants and trees which produce cotton, there are great varieties; a description of which it is not our intention, at present, to give. It will be sufficient for us to confine our observations to the shrub which produces the wool that is of the best quality; for of this, in general, the manufactures now in such common request are made.

This valuable production, which so conspicuously displays the goodness of God, does not appear to have been transported from any one particular spot, but is a native of all the tropical regions. Islands and continents have been found alike congenial to its nature, both in the eastern and the western hemisphere. The plant of which we speak, is seldom suffered to approach far towards a state of maturity in its growth, because the cultivators find an interest in cutting it down every two or three years within a few inches of the ground. This is done, that from the old stock it may sprout afresh,—bear a greater quantity of cotton,—produce from its numerous branches wool of a superior quality,—and be prevented from becoming a large, and comparatively unprofitable tree, which, otherwise, would be the case. This operation is performed in the rainy season, that the roots, being properly moistened, may more readily put forth new suckers; these are commonly to the number of seven or eight, which flower in seven or eight months at the latest, from the time they begin to shoot.

The bark of this plant is thin, and of a grey color; the

wood is white, soft, and spungy. Its branches are pretty straight, and loaded with leaves, which are divided by fibres into three parts, resembling vine leaves, except in their shape; but they are smaller, thinner, and more tender; they are of a lively green when the shrub is young, but their color changes darker as it grows older. It flowers and bears cotton twice a year. The flower is composed of five copartments, which resemble an untimely tulip. The cup is supported by as many hard pointed leaves. The flower is yellow, striped along the inside with threads of a purple color, and it changes into an oval bud, rather pointed, of the size of a pigeon's egg, which opens and divides into three parts when the cotton is ripe. This bud in the beginning is green; it afterwards turns brown; then grows almost black, and becomes, at last, dry and brittle. The cotton, in this state, being warmed by the sun, and having attained to perfect maturity, swells and bursts open the pod that contains it, with a faint noise. It would then fall to the ground, and be spoiled and lost, if it were not carefully attended to, and gathered up. The negroes employed in this business do not pick the pods from the plants till they see that they are ready to open, or actually are opened, and on the point of falling off. Each pod, or shell, contains from five to seven seeds, which are somewhat less than common peas. They are rather flat, and inclined to roughness, on which account the cotton sticks to them. There are two sorts of seeds, and, consequently, two kinds of cotton. Some of these seeds are green, and others are black. It has been said, that the black seed produces more cotton than the green, and that the cotton is more easily picked, or separated from the seeds which are found in the pods; because these being much smoother, it adheres less to them. But on the other hand, it is allowed by competent judges, that the cotton which is produced from the green seeds is finer and longer; and that the difficulty in picking it is amply rewarded by its superior beauty. The two sorts are generally mixed together; and by this process, the one sets off the other, for few people are judges of the difference. Upon the whole, it is agreed by the dealers in this article, that the cotton of the growth of the West India Islands surpasses that of the Levant in whiteness, fineness, and length.

The soil which is best adapted to the growth of the cotton-shrub is that which is dry and rocky, and which, on most other occasions, would be deemed unfit for cultivation. Great care, however, must be taken, that the ground has

not been previously exhausted by any other tillage. At the time when the branches are cut down, rain is essentially necessary; but on all other occasions, except immediately after the cotton is gathered, the badness of the crop may be estimated by the wetness of the season. The plants are generally raised from the seeds, which are lodged in holes about four feet apart. In each of these holes a great many seeds are deposited, on purpose to make allowance for such as may prove defective, and for an uncertain quantity which the worms rarely fail to destroy. No manure is requisite; neither is any other preparation of the soil necessary, than that of clearing it from weeds, and of such incumbrances as might obstruct the growth of the seeds.

Coffee is another article of exportation to Europe, for the growth of which Martinico is distinguished above all the other islands. This appellation is given to the berry of a shrub growing wild in Arabia Felix, and to the beverage prepared from it; but both the berry and its preparation for common use are so well known, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon the subject.

It was wholly unknown to the ancient Greeks, and even to the Arabian writers. Our earliest knowledge of it reaches little more than three hundred and fifty years before the present period; and it has not been used in Europe a third part of that time. The berry was known here long before any description of the tree which produced it had been given. We owe the perfect knowledge of it to the Dutch, who procured some slips from the tree, which were sent to them from Mocha, in Arabia Felix, and were planted in the botanical garden at Amsterdam. Upon their thriving well in this place, the Dutch government made a present of some to Louis XIV. whose wise and indefatigable minister, after they had been propagated in the royal garden at Paris, ordered some slips to be transported, in open wooden cases filled with fine mould, to Martinico. Here they were replanted, and now flourish in such perfection, that the Martinico coffee holds the next rank in reputation to that of Mocha.

Indigo is a natural product of this island. It is, likewise, cultivated on the continent of America, in the East Indies, and in several countries, where the plant is known under the general name of anil. There are five different species of it, described by *Linnæus* under the title of *indigo-phera*. But it may be sufficient, in this place, briefly to make a few observations on the plant itself, and its culture; and on the

preparation of it as an article of commerce for the uses of dyeing woollen, cotton, and silk manufactures of a fine blue color.

The second species in the Linnæan catalogue is that which is the most cultivated in the British and French West India Islands. It has smooth arched pods, growing close to the branches, with unequal winged leaves. It is distinguished from the other sorts by the denomination of *Guatimala** indigo. There are ten stamina in the flower, nine of which are joined; the other stands separately. These are crowned by roundish summits. In the centre is situated a cylindrical germen, supporting a short style, crowned with an obtuse stigma. The germen, afterwards, becomes a taper pod, filled with kidney-shaped beans. This plant requires a good, rich, and level soil, not too dry; and as it greatly impoverishes the ground where it grows, it must be alone. There cannot be too much care taken to keep it clean, and to hinder herbs, of any kind whatever, from growing near it. The planters, sometimes, carry their neatness so far, that they sweep the ground on which it is sown, as they would a room in a house.

Though all seasons of the year are good for planting indigo, great care must be taken not to put it into the ground in a dry time. The slips, from which it is most generally raised, must be put into pits or holes, to the depth of three or four inches; these must be distant about a foot from each other, and placed as much as possible in a straight line. When indigo is raised from seeds, which is not unfrequently the case, twelve or thirteen must be lodged in a space about the breadth of a hoe. These also must be placed in pits, about the same depth, and nearly at the same distance from one another, as those holes are from which the plants are raised.

From the time of the plant's rising above ground to its perfect maturity, is not much above two months, and then it is fit to cut. After this first cutting, the new branches and leaves which it produces may be cut every six or seven weeks, provided the season be rainy, and that care be taken

* For an account of the different species of indigo to be found in Jamaica, the reader is referred to the natural history of that island, in a note on chapter the ninth. In that chapter, the subject of cotton is also introduced, and briefly touched on, as an article of vast importance; and from thence, the reader is referred to the history of this island.

not to cut them in a time of drought, because then the proprietor would infallibly lose the plant. But all things being rightly managed, it will last two years; after which it must be plucked up, and a new plantation be made.

The principal *Indigo-works* of Martinico are situated in the parish of *Macouba*, in which there is not a stream, or river, without some of these erections on its banks. They consist of large *vats*, or *backs*, of stone-work, well cemented, in which the plant that yields the dye is put to digest. There are usually three of these vats, one above another, in the manner of a cascade; so that the second, which is lower than the bottom of the first, may receive the liquor contained in the first. Then the holes which are made in the bottom of the second are unstopped; and the third, in its turn, receives what was in the second.

Eighteen or twenty packets of plants, each about the size of two bundles of hay, are sufficient to fill a large vat. The top is covered with pieces of wood, to prevent the liquor, by the swelling of the plant, from rising above the surface. The fermentation is raised sooner or later, in proportion to the heat and the ripeness of the plants; sometimes it takes place in six or eight hours, but it rarely exceeds eighteen or twenty. The water then becomes thick, and of a blue color, rather inclining to the violet. The whole mass is now beaten with poles repeatedly, and afterwards left to settle; when the *faces* sink to the bottom of the vat, and form a kind of mud. The water being drawn off, the *fæces*, by opening the cocks, fall into the second, and from thence into the third vat; where being still more drained from their watery particles, they are put into linen bags, fifteen or eighteen inches long. These bags are made with a point, that the mass may purge itself thoroughly from any remaining water. When this is done, they spread it in little boxes three or four feet long, two feet broad, and about three inches deep; and expose it to the air in the shade to dry it perfectly. It is then made into flat cakes, about the size of our penny-pieces, to be exported to Europe. The East India indigo, on the contrary, is formed into roundish pieces, about the size of a pigeon's egg.

Such are the staple commodities of Martinico.

The state of religion in this island has continued nearly the same for a long series of years. Attached to the Roman Catholic faith, the inhabitants have neither wished for, nor given encouragement to, any reformation. But amidst this

intolerance, it is, however, a tribute which is due in justice to the ancient government of France, and to the religious orders that acted under its auspices, that we state the conduct of each on the present occasion. The former was forward to select, send out, and support, such Missionaries as were thought best adapted for the arduous employment; while the latter were found indefatigable in their zeal, their labour, and patience, and full of perseverance in the discharge of their duties. As it may prove gratifying to many who are piously disposed, among the various denominations of Christians, to know something of the conduct of the early French Missionaries, we will briefly select, from father Labat, an outline of the account which he has transmitted to posterity. It cannot but be pleasing to those who have the interests of the gospel at heart, to retrace those exertions which were made upwards of a century ago, to spread the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ among those who had never heard the sound of his name. And in addition to the pleasure which such retrospective views must afford us, it may stir up some to engage in promoting the same glorious cause, by assisting those Protestant Missionaries who are now laboring in these islands of the sea.

Of the commencement of his mission Labat gives the following account: "A contagious disease having carried "off most of the Missionaries in the French American "islands, the Superiors of the different religious orders "established in those islands wrote circular letters to their "brethren in France, entreating them to send out others to "their assistance. One of these letters, falling into my "hands, determined me to carry into execution a design I "had long meditated, to devote myself to a missionary life, "as an employment perfectly adapted to my profession. "I was then thirty years of age, eleven of which I had "passed in the convent of Jacobins, in the street St. Ho-"noré, at Paris, and had been received as a professed bro-"ther; and, at sundry times, I had been sent to some of "the provinces of France, where I preached, and taught "philosophy and the mathematics. Having asked for, and "readily obtained, the necessary licences from my religious "superiors, and the proper passports from government, to "go to the French West India Islands, I took leave of "Paris on the 5th of August 1693, in order to embark at "Rochelle. Two more had agreed to undertake the voy-"age, but they were dissuaded from it by their Superior; "and I was obliged to set out with one servant, who had

" been engaged in the service of the mission for three " years."

On their arrival at Rochelle, they were joined by eight Missionaries, of different religious orders, in consequence of the letters that had been sent to their respective convents. The number now consisted of ten persons, who, by an order from the Commissary-general of the missions at Paris, were placed under the care of father Labat, who was to provide them with the necessaries and accommodations usually allowed to Missionaries on their embarkation. To defray the expences of these necessaries, he received the sum of *one hundred and fifty* crowns granted to them by the King, together with an order for a free passage, either on board of the King's ships, or merchant vessels, at his Majesty's expense. The articles required to be provided for them are worthy of notice, as they clearly evince that these pious labourers did not covet the honors, the riches, or the luxuries of this world. They consisted, for each Missionary, of one mattrass, a bolster, a pair of sheets, a blanket, a white coat, a cassock, or black cloak, six shirts, as many pairs of drawers, twelve handkerchiefs, the same number of night-caps, thread stockings, and socks; a hat, three pairs of shoes, a trunk between two, and a case of liquors for the voyage. And as some of them said they were in want of books, fifty livres* were given to each of them, to purchase such as they thought proper, and for petty expenses while on shore.

The merchant at Rochelle, who furnished the necessaries, consulting his own interest rather than decorum, attempted to persuade them to carry out trading adventures; against which Labat strongly remonstrated, as derogatory to the dignity of their holy vocation; but he was not sufficiently master of his little society, to prevent two or three of them from taking out parcels of buttons, pins, needles, and other small wares, which were very saleable, but charged to them exorbitantly dear. After a passage of sixty-three days, Labat and his companion arrived safely at Martinico, in the month of January 1694. Some of the other Missionaries had out-sailed them, and now came to meet them on their landing. After returning thanks to God in the principal church, they repaired to the convent of Jacobins, where they were welcomed and hospitably received by the Superior

* A French livre amounts to ten-pence of our money.

of their order, and had proper apartments assigned them. By the visits they afterwards made to the Jesuits, to the order of Charity, and to other convents, it appears, that at this early period, there were several long-established convents of different orders at Martinico. It appears, also, that many of the priests in each acted as Missionaries, for the conversion of the native savages and the negro slaves, not only on all parts of this island, but at Guadaloupe, Dominica (then in the possession of France), and other French settlements. To these last-mentioned colonies they made occasional voyages, and then returned to their usual residences in their respective convents at Martinico, or to the parishes of which they were curates in different parts of the island. Thus we find father Labat himself making visitations to St. Vincent's, Grenada, and St. Domingo, for the purpose of inspecting the convents, and transacting missionary business, though he was appointed curate of the parish of Macouba, and in a short time chosen Procursor Syndic of the mission of Martinico.

The Jacobins had the care of the parish of the Mouillage, the church being the property of their community. They likewise served six other parishes in the quarter of the island known by the name of the *Cabesterre*. The Jesuits served five parishes, including Fort St. Pierre, and its vicinity: and the Capuchins had the care of the parish and fortress of Fort Royal, and four smaller adjacent parishes. By this distribution, the ecclesiastical benefices were entirely occupied by the Friars of the three orders, to the total exclusion of the secular priests who came from France, at different periods, under the sanction of the military Governor of the island, with a view to deprive them of these advantages. But their attempts were made in vain. For the zeal of these fathers of the different orders—their indefatigable attention to the negro slaves in particular, numbers of whom they purchased on their own account, and employed in plantations belonging to their respective communities;—their humane treatment of them;—their charities;—and the examples of self-denial which they exhibited in their simple mode of life, procured them the esteem and support of the principal white inhabitants.

The epidemical fever, from which the early Missionaries suffered so severely, was called the distemper of *Siam*, by the French writers, because it was first brought to Mar-

tinico in a merchant-ship, from Siam, in the East Indies. This has been clearly demonstrated, by the ingenious Dr. Mosely, to be the same disease as the *Febris Ardens*, or *Causus* of Hippocrates, and is the yellow fever, which of late years has proved so destructive on the continent of North America, and in many of the West India Islands. This fatal disease, which may be considered as a species of the plague, frequently raged with great violence in this island; but notwithstanding the mortality it occasioned among religious orders, the Missionaries, with great affection and alacrity, continued their course, and often became the victims of their pious assiduity. Neither was this fatal disease the only danger to which they were exposed by their profession. Their duty often led them into the interior parts of the island, remote from populous towns, to the villages and huts of the Indians; and in the recesses of woods, and from the caverns of mountains, they were often attacked and mortally bitten by the poisonous snakes that infest Martinico and St. Lucia; for the antidotes now generally known and administered, to prevent the mortal effects of the poisonous bite of the Martinico snake, were not then discovered. These reptiles have been understood to be a separate species from any of those serpents which are found in the other West India Islands.

Of these remedies Dr. Chisholm gives a most satisfactory account, and introduces a curious and novel case, of his own success in administering the diluted nitric acid, with the occasional addition of a tea-spoonful of camphorated tincture of opium.*

These early Missionaries were, unhappily, succeeded by a race of men who inherited their power without possessing their virtues. With these, the interests of the gospel were made subservient to the machinations of political intrigue; so that worldly emoluments and honors supplanted, by slow but gradual steps, that zeal for the conversion of souls, by which a Missionary should be always actuated. To save appearances, it became necessary that professional attachment should be kept alive. This, and the trappings of ceremony, have been amplified, in proportion as real

* See the narrative of this extraordinary cure, in an Essay, by Dr. Chisholm, on the malignant pestilential Fever of the West India Islands, &c. Vol. ii. page 93.

religion has declined; and from the influence of all, we unhappily learn, that vital godliness is degenerated into supercilious parade. Even these externals have, of late years, lost no inconsiderable portion of their ancient authority; so that vice exerts its dominion with little or no control, and bids defiance to those restraints which are too feeble to oppose its progress. Such is, at present, the melancholy moral picture of Martinico.

CHAP. XXVIII.

HISTORY OF DOMINICA.

Discovery and Name.—First settled by the French, who lived on Terms of Friendship with the Natives.—Increase of the Colonists.—The Island declared neutral.—Captured by the English.—Subsequent Prosperity.—Recaptured by the French.—Particulars of that Re-capture, and of the brutal Conduct of the Conquerors towards the Inhabitants.—Restoration to the English by the Peace of 1783.*—Soil and Appearance of the Island.—Productions.—Turtles, a Description of them.—Their Manner of Living, and the Mode of taking them.—Account of a remarkable Insect.*

THIS valuable colony is peculiarly advantageous to Great Britain in a political point of view. This arises from its situation, which is about midway between Martinico and Guadaloupe. From this circumstance, in conjunction with the superior naval force of the mother-country, it has not only been enabled to intercept the trading vessels of both islands, in times of war, when they were in the possession of France; but even to shut up all intercourse between them, and to facilitate the conquest of either when attacked by British forces. These facts, which we have learned from experiment, its history will evince.

Dominica lies in latitude 15° 32′ north, and in longitude 61° 23′ west from Greenwich. It is somewhat larger than St. Vincent's, being about twenty-nine miles in length, and sixteen in breadth. It obtained its present name from Columbus, by whom it was discovered, on the 3d of November 1493, in his second voyage to the new hemisphere. This name was bestowed upon it by that great navigator, from the incidental circumstance of its being discovered on a Sunday, Dominica being a corruption of the Latin name for that sacred day.

Of its original appellation among the natives, nothing is now known. It was found inhabited by Charaibees, though they were not very numerous; and they were left, both by Columbus, and his more immediate successors, in quiet and undisturbed possession.

The vast group of islands which were discovered by that daring genius, under the government of Spain, was too numerous to be possessed by that nation. Discovery, however, according to the principles which prevailed, gave her the right of choice; in consequence of which, she made selections, and abandoned all the rest. Upon the island of Dominica, it does not appear that the Spaniards ever attempted to make any settlement; so that, like many others in the new world, it was but discovered to be neglected and forgotten. They were, at this time, in possession of more important acquisitions, which claimed their utmost attention and vigilance; so that, accident and necessity, rather than humanity and justice, under a superintending Providence, permitted the natives of this island to enjoy their primitive abodes in peace.

From the time of its discovery till the commencement of the seventeenth century, its civil history affords no variety. No European nation attempted to fix a residence on it; in consequence of which, it stands exempted, during this period, from those disastrous vicissitudes, which the wars of Europe diffuse through every quarter of the globe.

The neighbouring islands had been occasionally peopled by the Europeans; and in proportion as their numbers increased, the primitive inhabitants were either destroyed, or compelled to find some new abode. From some of these islands, either led by choice or driven by necessity, some Frenchmen came over to Dominica about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and fixed their habitations on those parts of the sea-coast, which, for reasons unknown to us, the natives had abandoned. As residence, and not conquest, was the sole object of these settlers, they contrived to establish a friendly intercourse with the Charaibees. This object they effected. Both parties were disposed to friendship; they respected each other; and, secluded from those devastations which accompany the sword, they were satisfied with their conditions, and lived in peace.

In the year 1632, the number of Charaibees amounted to nine hundred and thirty-eight. These lived in thirty-two huts, or carbets, according to those modes of society which they had derived from their immediate progenitors and

remotest ancestry. The French, from the period of their original settlement to this time, had increased, through natural population and occasional acquisitions, from a few families to three hundred and forty-nine persons. To these are to be added, twenty-three free mulattoes, and three hundred and thirty-eight negro slaves, who had been imported to assist them in the cultivation of those small portions of land which they occupied.

At this period, the whole of their time was engaged in breeding poultry, and in supplying Martinico with such articles of provision as industrious poverty enabled them to raise. They had also found means to obtain seventy-two thousand two hundred cotton shrubs, which they cultivated with the utmost care. The produce of these they bartered at that island, for various necessaries and conveniences of life, particularly tools for husbandry, and such materials for building as the place of their residence did not produce. To this inconsiderable traffic, in process of time, they added a little coffee. Their endeavors in planting and cultivating that article were also successful; so that, from an insignificant beginning, they acquired comparative affluence, and awakened that envy in the contending nations of Europe which blasted all their hopes.

In proportion as this colony increased in population and commercial prosperity, it became an object of jealousy between the rival powers of England, France, and Holland; when, to prevent, as it was hoped, all future contests, it was agreed that Dominica should be considered as a neutral island, to which all European traders might resort. In this state it remained till the war between Great Britain and France which broke out in the year 1755; in the course of which, it was captured by some of our forces.

It was not, however, solely on account of the commercial benefits expected to accrue from its possession and establishment as a British colony, but in order to secure an ascendancy, and maintain a commanding situation over the French windward and leeward islands, that an expedition was fitted out against it by our government. This was done under the administration of the great Mr. Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) in the memorable year 1759.

From its defenceless condition it became an easy conquest. But it was afterward deemed of so much importance, that it occasioned warm discussions during the negociations for settling the preliminaries of the peace of Paris, in 1763; the French ministry remonstrating in strong terms against

the proposal of ceding it in perpetuity to the crown of Great Britain. But these remonstrances were made in vain; for, to the honor of the British cabinet, at that time supposed to be under the direction of the late Earl of Bute, who called it *his peace*, it was one of the principal articles of the definitive treaty. Every indulgence, however, was granted to the French inhabitants, as well planters as private individuals; and they peaceably intermixed with the new British settlers, under a form of government similar to that of Jamaica. The legislative authority of the island is vested in the Commander-in-chief, who is the military and civil Governor; in a Council of twelve gentlemen; and in a House of Assembly, or Representatives of the Commons, consisting of nineteen members.

The cultivation of the land had been too much neglected by the French during their sole occupancy of Dominica. This seems the more inexcusable, since the soil was known by them to be capable of producing every commodity which was raised in their other settlements in the West Indies, both for internal use and foreign commerce. But the change which the capture of the island by our troops occasioned, introduced surprising alterations in their agricultural system. The free enjoyment and full security which were given to private property, now placed under the mild and equitable laws of the British government, introduced among all ranks a spirit of enterprize which was before unknown.

The French, prior to the capture of the island, had laid the foundation of a town on the south-west part, still known by the name of Roseau. Its condition bore a strong resemblance to their agricultural achievements. It increased but slowly both in wealth and extension, notwithstanding the local advantages which it had a right to command. Soon after we took possession of it, it was made a free port. This gave new life to the inhabitants, and fully established its decided superiority as the capital of the island.

The lands, on the surrender of the colony to the British arms, became the property of the crown by right of conquest; but no advantage was taken of this prerogative. The French inhabitants were established in their original possessions under a few restrictions, which rather resulted from prudence, than displayed severity. On their taking the oaths of allegiance, leases were granted to some for seven years, and to others for fourteen, as circumstances directed. But each of these terms was renewable as it respectively expired, on the easy condition of the proprietors'

paying to his Majesty, or his successors, the small quit-rent of two shillings per acre, for all which they occupied. In addition to this, they were obliged to bind themselves not to dispose of the lands which were thus obtained, either to residents or strangers, on any pretence whatever, without first procuring the approbation of the governor. His sanction became necessary to give legality to all such bargains as were made.

The lands which were unappropriated were deemed the property of the crown. These amounted to ninety-four thousand three hundred and forty-six acres, and comprehended about one-half of the island. To inspect into their value, commissioners were appointed on purpose; who, after having taken a survey, were authorized to dispose of them to the best bidder, on such terms as might give the purchaser such an interest in the issue, as would ensure their cultivation.

The lands which were thus sold by auction, on the capture of the island, were put up in small lots, of from fifty to one hundred acres; and no person was allowed to purchase, either in his own name, or in the name of another, even in trust for him, more than three hundred acres. Towards the French inhabitants the same rules were observed. Though secured in their possessions, and permitted to retain their lands without a re-purchase, upon paying the annual sum above-stated, this immunity extended no further than to the amount of three hundred acres of land actually occupied by each individual. All beyond became the property of the crown, and submitted to those sales which yielded the sum of £312,092. 11 s. 1d. in sterling money.

The rapid progress of the colony to a degree of prosperity, unknown before it came into our possession, is acknowledged by the French writers, though denied by Edwards, who asserts, in perhaps a little partiality for *Jamaica*, "that "it does not appear, that the purchases made by British "subjects have answered the expectation of the buyers." Indeed, it was very perceptible, in a few years, by its exports to Great Britain, of coffee, cotton, and sugar, and by its increased imports of British manufactures.

The tranquillity and flourishing state of Dominica was suspended by the unnatural war between Great Britain and her North American colonies; in which France impoliticly and unjustly interfered, and thereby laid the foundation of the subversion of her ancient monarchy. The delusive hope of depriving Great Britain of her long-established sove-

reignty of the seas, by detaching from her navy forty thousand American seamen, and of recovering those West India Islands which France had ceded in 1763, with the addition of conquering all the British settlements, was the grand temptation. These baits the French ministry held out, to induce their weak, credulous, and unhappy King to enter into the war. In the pursuit of these ambitious projects, a small French squadron, fitted out at Martinico, made a sudden and unexpected attack on Dominica. This squadron was commanded by the Marquis de Bouille, Governor of that island, and Commander-in-chief of all the French windward islands, having on board two thousand regular troops, and a great number of irregular volunteers.

The French Governor having received early information that hostilities had commenced between the two crowns in Europe, availed himself, by instructions from his court, of the proximity of his station; and, with that promptitude which generally facilitates, and sometimes ensures success, determined to act immediately, that no reinforcements might arrive from England before the fatal blow was struck. This plan was carried into execution early in September 1778.

At this period, the whole regular force of the island amounted to no more than six officers, ninety-four privates, and about one hundred and twenty militia. These, notwithstanding their inconsiderable numbers, defended the forts and passes with such bravery, as to render, for a considerable time, the empire of the island doubtful; and, finally, procured for themselves, when they were obliged to yield to superior numbers, those honourable terms of capitulation, which the brave, in general, obtain, and always deserve.

Many of the French troops, which amounted in all to about three thousand five hundred, landed without difficulty or opposition, and marched almost immediately to the attack of *Fort Cashacrou*. This fort, upon which the safety of the island chiefly depended, was erected upon an eminence, which was at once commanding and almost inaccessible. On three sides it was surrounded by the sea, above which it was elevated about three hundred feet in perpendicular height. In this fortress a detachment of regulars had been stationed; and their numbers, though small, were deemed sufficient to withstand an attack which could only be made in one direction.

Of the vast importance of this fort the French were particularly sensible; and to ensure its reduction, they scrupled not to use either violence or fraud. The French

inhabitants who were upon the island, it is more than probable, interested themselves in the issue of the invasion, and secretly held a perfidious correspondence with the enemy, who had now made good a landing upon their shores. To promote the welfare of their open foes, but secret friends, these inhabitants, a few days previous to the invasion, introduced themselves into the fort among the unsuspicious soldiers, who were there on duty; and, after intoxicating them with their professed bounty, found means secretly to spike all the cannon, and retire.

The arrival and approaches of the French troops made them sensible of their irretrievable calamity. The fort was attacked; but instead of being able to make any defence, it was unable to fire even a single gun. The French, confident of success, because apprized of the treachery, continued their march, and entered it without opposition; and the first intimation that the mass of the inhabitants obtained of its surrender was received from the French colors, which, to their utter astonishment, they beheld unfurled upon the fortress.

Bouille, having secured possession of this commanding post, flattered himself with the immediate conquest of the island; and, in the confidence of that persuasion, immediately landed all his forces, and directed his march towards the town. Several obstacles, however, presented themselves to obstruct his progress. The inhabitants, in general, alarmed for their personal safety, had collected themselves with precipitation, though the French residents did not much augment their numbers. Many of these, indeed, only made their appearance as curious spectators; and some of them, retiring from the scene of action, were seen no more till the French were in possession of the island.

Fort Loubiere, Fort Melville, and three batteries, by which the town was more immediately defended, were instantly manned, and most gallantly supported; but, alas, their numbers were but small, the condition of the batteries was bad, and the supplies of all were still worse.

The enemy immediately directed his march to Fort Loubiere, and after a dreadful conflict succeeded in carrying it. In this combat, victory for some time remained doubtful, and the loss of the assailants was considerable. Three times they entered the fort, and three times they were repulsed. Twice they planted their colors on its walls, and twice were these colors shot away. Forty of their soldiers, and the Commissary-general, were killed on the spot; many

were wounded; and Bouille, the Commander-in-chief, escaped with the utmost difficulty the fate of many of his companions.

But this valor was unavailing. The superiority of numbers became too formidable for mere courage to subdue. The scale which suspended victory, that had been hanging in equipoise, or vibrating with indecision, began to preponderate, and in one moment decided the whole. About two thousand of the invaders gained the heights of Roseau, from whence they could not be dislodged; and the inhabitants, unable to make any further resistance with any probability of success, offered to capitulate, and obtained the most honorable terms. Military honors were their due; and with these their soldiers were permitted to march out. Their arms, their civil government, their laws, customs, and religious rites, they were permitted to retain. These articles promised security of possessions and property to all, both present and absent; and even to perpetuate the administration of justice, in those persons with whom it was lodged prior to the invasion and surrender of the island.

But these terms and conditions were, unhappily, little more than nominal. The conduct of the subsequent Governor towards the inhabitants has sufficiently taught us, that agreement and signature, when compared with fidelity and honor, are words which convey very different ideas. The articles of capitulation were no sooner signed, and the affairs of the conquered island adjusted, than Bouille returned to Martinico. The Marquis Duchilleau, on his departure, took upon him, by previous appointment, the sole command, and sufficiently demonstrated, by his whole deportment, that the tyrant had succeeded to the man. Bouille was brave, generous, honorable, and humane; Duchilleau was mean, dishonorable, vindictive, and suspicious. In the former character, we find those dignified and manly actions which designate a nobleness of soul; but in the latter, those base ingredients which constitute the despot, and display the coward.

Scarcely had Bouille departed from the island, before Duchilleau began, by violating the fundamental articles of capitulation, to invert that order which had been established. Fear, it has been said, is the inseparable companion of guilt; and, probably, few instances can furnish us with more forcible examples, in proportion to the possession of power, than the conduct of this man.

In direct violation of treaty, the English inhabitants were

instantly disarmed, and their fugitive slaves were enlisted in his party, to act in concert with him, as occasion rendered their assistance necessary. By an express order which he issued, the English were forbidden to associate together; and the military under his command were directed to disperse them, just as they saw occasion. No lights were permitted in any houses after nine o'clock. No curfew, it is true, was tolled, to sound "the knell of departing day." It was despotism, without the signal of oppression; and the imperiousness of mandate, without even the sanction of law. No person, during the night, was permitted to walk the street, however urgent his necessity, without a lighted torch, which became the signal of his approach, and exposed him to the caprice of arbitrary examination. No letters were permitted to be sent without being first opened and inspected; so that, the inhabitants were compelled to submit to the most detestable oppression, without feeling the nominal solace of uttering their complaints, or complaining of their wrongs.

To complete their miseries and his own disgrace, spies were appointed to perform a kind of clandestine patrole, and to steal in the most unguarded hours to the doors and windows of the inhabitants, to listen to their conversation, and to report the result. To this indignant office he had meanness enough personally to submit; and, habited in disguise, he became, at once, the inspector of the inhabitants and of his own spies. By these means, both domestic intercourse and domestic conversation were alike forbidden; his villanies were only heard in smothered whispers, which, at once, breathed both detestation and fear.

Nor were these precautions merely nominal. An English Captain going on board his own vessel, then lying in the harbor, after the interdicted hour, was shot in the attempt; and the centinel by whom he was assassinated, for having *so completely done his duty,* was exalted to a higher station, as a reward for his heroic deed. Wanton oppression seemed to mark his footsteps; his felicity appeared to arise from the miseries which his cruelties had occasioned; the groan of suffering became music in his ear, and his eye delighted to revel in blood.

Conscious of the effects of cruelty, he dreaded a revolt which his own actions invited, and threatened to consume the town by fire, in case the island should ever be attacked by British forces. To flee from his oppressions, and to sustain them, seemed alike impossible; existence was but

the vehicle of misery; and the brave inhabitants were under the dreadful alternative of suffering death, or silently submitting to the evils which they were destined by this barbarian to endure.

An attack, however, by the English forces was not made; but this did not prevent the conflagration. A dreadful fire, if not that which he had threatened, broke out on the evening of Easter Sunday 1781; in which, between five and six hundred houses were reduced to ashes, and their inhabitants from affluence to the extreme of indigence. In these houses the riches of the island were consumed, to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds.

To charge boldly upon him this atrocious deed we have not a sufficiency of direct evidence; but, following a train of circumstances, it is impossible that we can divest ourselves of strong suspicions. On the awful night he was present to survey the flames, and estimate the effects of a few dreadful hours; and, if report may be permitted to bear a genuine testimony, actually prevented the soldiers from assisting the English inhabitants in rescuing their half-burnt property from the flames. To the French inhabitants, however, he appeared rather more indulgent. They were reduced to nearly the same predicament in this calamity; but these, and these only, the soldiers were permitted to assist; while the English, deprived of all aid, cut off from internal resources, and debarred from all external supplies, were compelled silently to mourn over the devastation, or permitted, if they thought proper to attempt it, to quench the conflagration with their tears.

In the meanwhile their trade with foreign nations was nearly at an end. The island, though conquered by France, was not visited by any ships of that nation, during the period of five years and three months that it continued in their possession; at least, not by any that came to promote their trade. With England they could hold no direct correspondence, being, at this time, in subjection to France; and the circuitous course which their few articles of commerce were obliged to take to reach a market, so far reduced them in value, that their sale could hardly be considered as a benefit.

Some of their articles were conveyed in neutral vessels to the island of St. Eustatius, at that time belonging to the Dutch; and from thence to England. But, even this expensive route was of short continuance. In the progress of the war the Dutch became involved; and this island was

captured by Sir George Bridges Rodney, afterwards Lord Rodney; and from that moment St. Eustatius ceased to be a medium of traffic. Another part of the produce of Dominica was sent in Dutch vessels to Rotterdam, and from thence imported into Great Britain. But after the commencement of the war with Holland, this passage, also, became forbidden; and the only channel through which her merchandise could travel, was to Ostend, under an imperial flag. In this port it found a ruinous market; sugar sold from six to eight pounds per hogshead, and other articles in nearly the same proportion.

In point of trade, the English and French inhabitants were partners in calamity. No portion of the produce of the island was sent to France; so that, the same hand which shut the door against the one, most completely debarred the other. Under these circumstances, conquest seemed to have been made without its advantages: our nation was deprived of the possession of the island; but France derived from the acquisition no benefit, either in a political or a commercial point of view. Retaining possession of the colony, they, indeed, hindered us from engaging it on our side in the war; and thus far they prevented those impediments which Martinico and Guadaloupe might have experienced. Thus circumstanced, it maintained a kind of armed neutrality; and was destined to behold the contention of two fierce nations;—deserted by the one, and forbidden to hold any correspondence with the other.

Oppressed and deserted, subdued by the sword, and injured by fire, groaning under the iron yoke of unfeeling despotism, and deprived of all internal and external resources, the suffering inhabitants felt all the horrors of their situation. The impenetrable gloom that hovered over them had relaxed the springs of industry; their hopes were frozen, and their expectations had almost formed an alliance with despair. Many of the planters were absolutely ruined. Some had abandoned a cultivation of all articles, from a certainty that success would only be an aggravation of their misfortunes. Thirty sugar plantations were thrown up; and the works, which had been erected at a vast expense, were permitted to yield to the corrodings of time, and the injuries of the elements.

The happy moment, however, which restored peace to Europe, and Dominica to England, at length arrived, in the month of January 1783. The gloom of melancholy was dispersed in an instant; joy sparkled in every counte-

nance; and gratitude broke forth from those lips which had almost forgotten how to smile. The night of affliction, through which they had travelled between five and six years, disappeared in an instant, before those prospects with which the intelligence of their deliverance had filled their minds, and before those beams of future prosperity, at which they lighted up their departing hopes.

To be restored once more to the dominion of his Majesty's government, was of itself a deliverance from the hands of despotic oppressors, and a promise of security against domestic injustice. These were sources of grateful joy. The articles of 1783 included and recognised those of 1763, in which Roseau, in Dominica, had been declared a free port. This freedom was renewed; its administration of civil government became independent, on a plan similar to that of the other British Colonies in the West Indies, and opened a door to that prosperity which had so long forsaken the island. These circumstances operating as an incitement to traders, and a stimulus to industry, became, in some degree, a recompense for the evils of former years. On these foundations the trade and cultivation of this island have again been erected; and since that eventful period which we have been describing, nothing memorable in its history has occurred to retard its gradual advances toward its present prosperity.

A complete recovery, however, from the devastations of war must be the work of much time. A few destructive hours will sometimes obliterate the labors of an age, and establish calamities which a succession of generations only can overcome. Such have been the effects of that dreadful fire which reduced Roseau to ashes.

Previously to that period, the town contained upwards of one thousand houses, exclusively of the huts inhabited by the slaves. But, notwithstanding its restoration to the British crown, which has held out to the inhabitants those immunities which we have just described, it does not, at present, much exceed five hundred.

The whole island is divided into ten parishes, and contains by estimation 186,436 acres of land. Roseau, which is the principal town, lies in the parish of St. George. It is about half a mile in length; and being built without much attention to order, it has an irregular appearance. The island is inhabited by English, French, negroes, and Charaibees; but of the latter there are very few; in numbers, they do not exceed thirty families; these are almost con-

tinually lessening through death; so that, in all probability, the race will soon become extinct. Whether it be from the peculiarity of their dispositions, or from a consciousness of the inferiority of their numbers, that they are peaceable and inoffensive, I take not upon me to say; but such, however, is the fact. They live retired from the European settlers, speak a language of their own, intermixed with a little French, and retain those modes of domestic life which they have derived from their progenitors. Exclusive of the Charaibees, the numbers in 1788, of all colors, conditions, and complexions, amounted to about 16,700; but, since that period, they have considerably increased.

On the natural history of this island it remains to make some remarks, before we proceed to the religious department. In common with most other islands in these regions, Dominica is not destitute of mountains, though they are not numerous; but a few of them are lofty. Several of these contain volcanic fires, and frequently discharge, in large quantities, streams of burning sulphur. From fissures through which it can find a passage, hot water issues almost continually; and it has been said, that it possesses medicinal virtues, peculiarly beneficial to those who are afflicted with such diseases as are common in the tropical regions; but the truth of these reports will, probably, admit of some considerable doubt.

The native soil is a black and rich earth, which seems adapted to the produce of these regions. This soil is, however, only found in vallies which lie near the sea-coast. In the interior parts which lie contiguous to the mountains, its appearance varies considerably, and assumes a lightish brown color. This mould, so different from that of other parts, induces a belief that, through some violent concussion of nature, perhaps the general deluge, it has been brought from its ancient bed, probably the sides of the mountains, and deposited in the plains and vallies near their base, where it is now found.

In most places the immoveable stratum is of a yellowish color, and appears to be a species of brick-clay. If, therefore, the above conjecture be right, it is not difficult to conceive, that the same torrents which stripped the mountains of their light brown earth, which is now found near their feet, carried off that rich black soil with which these parts were then covered, and lodged it in those fertile vales near the sea-shore, where it is now found in abundance, extensive in surface and exceedingly deep.

In general productions, it bears a strong resemblance to other West India Islands; but, on those articles which it possesses in common with them, and of which we have already spoken, it is superfluous here to make additional remarks. Such products as are peculiar to one island, but almost unknown in others, justly merit a description; but, in other cases, even an enumeration of articles is little more than a needless repetition. Hence, then, the history of Jamaica may be considered as a partial history of all the other islands; and from these circumstances, the reader may discover why that was so long, while these are so short. There are, nevertheless, a few things peculiar to Dominica, which have not been described.

It is remarkable, that this island has no bay of any consequence, nor any regular harbor; but the anchorage round the coasts is both commodious and safe; and in tempestuous weather, the shipping may be securely sheltered under its capes. The soil, in general, is capable, by proper cultivation, of great improvement, and of producing the same articles as the other West India Islands yield. The coffee of Dominica is but little inferior to that of Martinico, and the cultivation of this useful and salubrious vegetable is more successful than that of cotton or sugar, which our planters would willingly have preferred, as being more profitable. The whole island is plentifully watered; for, according to Atwood,* it possesses no less than thirty large rivers, (he might have said *large brooks,)* which supply the inhabitants with excellent fresh water, and with fish of various kinds. Labat extols the eels, in particular, as the largest and best he had found in any of the islands; and he adds, that "the rivers here swarm with them."

The woods, likewise, abound with wild bees, which settle on lofty trees, and are provided with boxes of a peculiar construction by those negroes whose business it is to look after them. In these they make their honeycombs and wax, in the same manner as in our hives. The quantity of honey and wax produced by these bees is very considerable; and supplies not only the consumption of the island, but a surplus to trade with to the adjacent colonies. The face of the country presents more low lands and plains, called savannas, than mountains; yet it is skirted by some

* See his History of the Island of Dominica.—London, 1791.

of considerable height; particularly one which contains a productive mine of sulphur. Its forests are well furnished with various species of wood, proper for buildings, for furniture, and for fuel.

The turtles, which for many years past have been considered as a most delicious article of luxury for the table, at all public feasts, and at great dinners in the private families of opulent citizens in England, are found in great abundance on the coasts of Dominica, as well as at Martinico, and some other islands in the West Indies. It is, therefore, become a subject of curiosity to be made acquainted with the nature of these amphibious creatures, which can neither be denominated land animals nor fish, but are mixtures of both.

Three different species of turtles are described by *Rochefort* and Labat; but as the flesh of none but that which we call *Green Turtle*, and the French *Tortue Franche*, is proper for food, it may suffice to confine our description, and account of the manner of taking them, to that class alone. The shape of the green turtle is oval. It is convex on its back, which is covered with a hard shell; but it is not so hard as that of the small species, called by the French *caret*, the shell of which is in such general request for combs, snuff-boxes, and other ornamental uses, and commonly called tortoise-shell; neither is it of any value. It has four fins, which supply the place of feet when it is on shore; a small *head*, projecting about three or four inches from the shell, in its make resembling that of a goose, independent of the beak; and a large "lack-lustre eye." The belly is nearly flat, and of a cream color; and as the fins are short, and ill adapted for walking, they appear to crawl along, rather than to tread the ground. The green turtles weigh from one to two hundred pounds. The season for them to land, in order to lay their eggs in the sands, begins about the latter end of April, and lasts till September; during which time, the fishermen are employed in taking them, either at sea as they approach the coasts, in strong nets of a peculiar construction; or on shore, by the following process:

A party of men in a boat watch the motions of the turtles in the road, particularly in the dusk of the evening, when they usually go on shore, either to reconnoitre the coast for proper places to deposit their eggs, or to lay them directly. As soon as the men perceive that a number of them are got

to a small distance from the sea, they land, and follow them in profound silence, till they observe that they are digging holes in the sand, which they make about a foot and a half deep. On perceiving this, they rush suddenly upon them; and taking them by a fore fin with one hand, and by the side with the other, turn them gently over upon their backs, from which posture they cannot recover. For the small convexity of their backs, and the great weight of their bodies bearing upon that part, effectually prevent their rising, or turning again upon their bellies. When caught in this manner, they are instantly carried to the boats to be put on board of ships, to be transported to Europe. But when it is intended to take both the turtles and their eggs, eighteen or twenty days, and sometimes a longer time, are suffered to elapse, between their first landing and the going out to take them. It is remarkable, that when they are turned upon their backs, and left till the next morning before they are taken away, they are seen to shed tears, and are heard to sigh. One man in the course of three hours will turn forty or fifty turtles. Their eggs are about the size of a tennis-ball, and perfectly round; the white and yolk resemble those of common fowls, but the shell is not firm; on the contrary, it is as soft as wet parchment. Some of the inhabitants make fricassees and omelets of the eggs, which, however, are neither so gratifying to the taste, nor so nourishing, as those that are made of pullets' eggs. A turtle of a moderate size will lay from two hundred to two hundred and fifty eggs, which, if suffered to remain in the sands where it has deposited and lightly covered them, will produce young ones, by the heat of the sun, in about six weeks. These, by natural instinct, find their way to the sea, to rejoin their mothers. The sailors cut their flesh into pieces, and salt them. The fat melts into a yellow oil, used by some, whilst it is fresh, to cook their victuals; and when stale, to burn in their lamps. Turtles may be kept alive several days, when turned on their backs, only by throwing sea-water frequently over them, if it be not convenient to remove them instantly. They may likewise be kept a considerable time in open tubs of fresh water, and fed with green herbs and bread; but the longer they are kept, the more they waste; and thus, more or less, in proportion, lose their best qualities, of being a wholesome food, nourishing, and light of digestion.

From the numerous tribes of insects common to all the

West India Islands, Mr. Atwood selects one, as being peculiar to Dominica, which is of so marvellous a nature, that it merits insertion in this place. "An insect, called "*the vegetable fly* (in this island), has the appearance, and "is of the size of a small cockchafer, which buries itself in "the ground, where it dies; and from its body springs up "a small plant, which resembles a young coffee-tree, only "that its leaves are smaller. The plant is often overlooked, "from the supposition people have of its being no other "than a coffee-plant; but on examining it properly, the "difference is easily distinguished; the head, body, and "feet of the insect appearing at the foot, as perfectly as "when alive."

Whether this insect has a real or only an imaginary existence, I take not upon me to determine. The astonishment which associates with the fact, if it be one, is of such an extraordinary nature, as to lay an embargo upon the credulity of the human mind. Our slender acquaintance with the connexion which subsists between the animal and the vegetable world, will not direct us to pronounce it an impossibility; and, indeed, the facts which we discover in the natural productions of every year, are equally strange and incomprehensible; and the only reason why they excite no amazement, is, because they are so common.

In the natural, the moral, and the intellectual world, we behold a variety of phenomena, which raise the contemplative mind to a first and intelligent cause. Design, associated with utility, is visible in almost every part; and wherein soever we find a deficiency, it is only an evidence of our want of comprehension, but no proof of any defect in the vast economy which we survey.

In fact, there is not one subject, how acutely soever we may imagine we have surveyed all its parts, but what retires ultimately from our keenest researches, and leaves our intellects involved in shade. In the present state, we see but in part, we know but in part; but in those regions of immortal blessedness which the righteous shall inherit for ever, these partial views will disappear, and harmony and beauty diffuse a general smile on all. The wonders of time, without doubt, shall then be lost in those which will be infinitely superior; and the mind of man, though endowed with capacities vastly more enlarged, shall expatiate in varieties which will be as endless as they are astonishing. Sin is the only impediment that can debar us from pos-

session; and though it is naturally interwoven with our whole frame, God has pointed out the means through which it may be perfectly extracted from us. These means we find in that gospel which we have been endeavoring to spread through this department of the heathen world; and the following chapter will contain some account of the success of our attempts in the island of Dominica.

CHAP. XXIX.

HISTORY OF DOMINICA

(Continued.)

Ancient State of the Island, with respect to Religion.—Author's first Visit and Reception in 1787.*—Second Visit in* 1788*; probability of Success, and Establishment of a Mission.—Death of Mr. M'Cornock, a Missionary, and consequent Distress of the Society.—Author's third Visit in* 1793.*—Missionaries again appointed.—Prospects and Views of these Missionaries.—Increase of Society.—Reflections on the mysterious Dispensations of Providence.—Distresses of the Missionaries.—Sickness of Mr. Shepley, and Death of Mr. Richardson.—Invasion of the Island by the French.—Consternation occasioned thereby.—Destruction of Roseau, and Pillage of the Inhabitants.—Short account of the original Settlement.—Vicissitudes and Conquest of Demerara, a Colony on the Continent.—Unsuccessful Attempt to establish the Gospel in that Colony made by Mr. Hawkshaw, one of the Missionaries, who returns to Dominica, sickens and dies.—Present State of Religion in the Island.*

THE revolutions to which this island has been exposed, and which we have noticed in its civil history, were very unfriendly to the establishment of christianity. The frowns of war are hostile to the genial fruits of the gospel of peace.

Whilst Dominica remained in the hands of its native inhabitants, whose opinions of their European invaders were founded upon the indignity and injustice with which both they and their countrymen had been treated in other islands, it was morally impossible to attempt, with success, the introduction of the gospel among them at an early period, if any had been so disposed. The French inhabitants who first obtained a settlement upon its shores imported with them an attachment to the rites of the Romish church; and

the fluctuating state of its civil government tended to confirm them in their errors, by preventing the truth from being circulated without adulteration. The indulgences granted by the British government to the inhabitants, when it fell into our hands, gave perpetuity to ceremonies which had been previously established; in consequence of which, at its final cession to the British crown in 1783, the Romish church was completely predominant. But, from that period, a partial establishment of the Protestant faith, according to the rites of the church of England, took place. This was connected with the British government, and gradually obtained a footing, in proportion as a change of manners was introduced by an influx of new inhabitants from the mother-country. It was in consequence of this permanent establishment, under a government which tolerates every mode of religion, and leaves the conscience free, that an attempt was made, under the direction of the late Rev. Mr. Wesley, to introduce the gospel into Dominica, among men of every color. Of the success of these endeavors during the life, and after the death of Mr. Wesley, we now proceed to give some account.

The author of this history, accompanied by three brother ministers, Messrs. *Baxter*, *Hammett*, and *Clarke*, sailed from Antigua, on Friday, the 5th day of January 1787, with a design, either to establish or prepare the way for a mission, and arrived on the coast of Dominica on the evening of the same day. With the inhabitants of this island none but Mr. Baxter had any acquaintance. Even his was of so imperfect a nature, that we had but little reason to expect success, except from that confidence which we felt in God.

The Captain of the schooner with whom we sailed was well acquainted with our intentions; and we were informed by him, previously to our arrival, that a Mr. Burn, with whom he had some acquaintance, would, in all probability, receive us with courtesy, and favor our undertaking. This gentleman, in whose enlightened liberality he placed this confidence, was a planter, and his place of residence not more than half a mile from the sea. In such a situation, and with views like ours, these were circumstances of a favorable nature; we, therefore, on our arrival, landed from the vessel, and determined to profit by the information which we had received.

Mr. Baxter and myself, therefore, immediately repaired to his house, and were received by him with all that courtesy

which the Captain had predicted, and which his favorable account had taught us to expect. On the appointment of a Missionary, he expressed much satisfaction, and assured us, that he should gladly entertain on his own estate the minister that should be appointed, whenever he should visit him. The number of negroes in that neighbourhood, he observed, amounted to about four hundred; and he had no doubt, that the few planters, whose property they were, would concur with him in sentiment, and give to our Missionary the same encouragement that he had promised to afford. In the course of this journey, we met with two old negro men, who were not entirely strangers to the gospel. They had evidently known something of the religion of Jesus Christ; and, we had reason to believe, had formerly been among the Moravians in the island of Antigua. Be this, however, as it may, they appeared friendly to the cause of our heavenly Master, and rejoiced exceedingly at the thought, that they were likely to hear the sound of the gospel again.

From the hospitable habitation of Mr. Burn we repaired to *Roseau*, the capital of the island, which we reached on Sunday the 7th. On our arrival, conducted by Mr. Baxter, we entered the house of a *Mrs. Webley*, a mulatto gentlewoman, with whom he had formed some distant acquaintance, in a former period, when she resided in Antigua. Delighted with our visit, and with the object which we had in view, she received us with grateful affection; and, that no time might be wasted in unnecessary delays, gave notice that I should preach in her house at four o'clock in the same afternoon. At the time appointed, a considerable number attended;—much more than the house could possibly contain. Those who could find means to enter heard with deep attention, while I endeavored to display before them, the *elect, precious, Corner-stone;* together with the way of being built upon him. Even those who could not hear gave no interruption. They felt the inconvenience of their situation, but they saw it to be an embarrassment for which we could, at present, apply no remedy. We might, indeed, have taken our stand in the street, and then all would have been able to hear; but such an action would, at that time, have discovered more indiscretion than prudence, as we had not had as yet an opportunity of waiting upon the Governor, to acquaint him with the occasion for which we had come to the island.

In this little excursion we visited the soldiers in the barracks, among whom we found two, who had been members

of our society in Ireland. These, like the two old negroes we had previously seen at the residence of Mr. Burn, appeared highly delighted with the prospect of having an opportunity of hearing the gospel in these distant regions, and expressed very earnest desires that a mission might be soon established in the island. But the period was not yet come. We saw many difficulties which we were not prepared to encounter, and many obstacles which we could scarcely surmount. These circumstances induced us to lay aside our intentions for the present, and to wait the arrival of a more favorable moment. In consequence of these resolutions we returned again to our schooner, which was then preparing to sail, and which landed us in safety at Kingstown, in St. Vincent's, on Tuesday, the 9th of January.

Nearly two years elapsed from the period which we have just mentioned, before another opportunity offered itself to us to visit this island. A second visit was, however, made on the 19th of December 1788, by a few Missionaries, whom the author accompanied thither; and from this period we may date the commencement of our society, and the establishment of that work which we proceed to describe.

At this time we landed at *Roseau*, and repaired immediately to the house of our former kind friend Mrs. Webley, whom we found now, as in the year 1787, highly pleased with our visit, and perfectly ready to receive us. She had been acquainted with our intention previously to our arrival, by a local preacher from St. Christopher's, who had lately made a voyage to this island. And in consequence of this intelligence, in conjunction with some other friends, she had hired a large room, commodious for preaching, that we might escape those inconveniences which we had experienced on the former occasion.

On our arrival, I seized the earliest moment to wait upon his Excellency, Governor Orde, to communicate to him our intention of establishing a Missionary in the island, whose labors would be chiefly directed towards the instructing of the slaves in the principles of christianity. In journeying through life, I have had many opportunities of being introduced to men of distinguished characters; but I have no recollection of any one whose politeness exceeded that of this gentleman. He manifested both affability and respect towards us, and appeared friendly to those truths which we came to inculcate.

Sanctioned by his approbation, I preached in the evening in the large room which Mrs. Webley and her friends had procured, and also on the Sunday following, to congregations which gave us reason to hope, that our labor in Dominica would not be altogether in vain. Continuing on the island about four days, Mr. Baxter, who accompanied us, had also an opportunity of preaching twice in Roseau, while I went into the country to visit a *Mr. Cherrurier*, a gentleman who had shewn himself friendly towards that cause which we were endeavoring to support. In this part of the island, also, I found some who were not averse to the gospel; and as we were designing to establish a mission at this time, I endeavored to open some doors through which our Missionary might have access to the slaves.

On the whole, we found, both in town and country, probabilities of success that were sufficient to justify our endeavors. The word we had delivered had, to all appearance, been attended with a blessing, and we felt it to be our duty, from a train of circumstances, to make an attempt. Of connexions and extensive promises we had not much to boast; but our views were known, and we had a prospect of peace. Among those who had heard us, it was easy to perceive, that many were much affected. Some of these had, formerly, been members of our society in Antigua, and were, therefore, not altogether unacquainted with our discipline. These, with some others, amounting in all to about twenty-four, who appeared to be desirous of obtaining salvation, we formed into a little society. And as we were about to retire, it was determined by us, that *Mr. M'Cornock*, one of our Missionaries, should take them under his immediate care, and endeavor to spread the truths of the gospel through the different parts of the island.

Having thus adjusted the affairs of our little society, and provided for the instruction and care of its members, by the appointment of a Missionary, we once more took our leave, and sailed to Antigua. Mr. M'Cornock, whom we had left in Dominica, immediately began his labor, with a zeal which plainly evinced that he had the interest of souls at heart. Multitudes flocked to hear him, and many received the word with joy. His preaching was blessed in a peculiar manner, and owned of God in the awakening of many souls. He was, indeed, instant in season and out of season, according to the Apostle's command; so that, within the space of a few months, through his instrumentality, not less than

one hundred and fifty were led to inquire what *they must do to be saved.* The work appeared in the highest state of prosperity; the word of God ran and was glorified; so that, the most sanguine hopes were entertained of a permanent establishment of a church in this island, against which the gates of hell should not prevail.

But who can comprehend the economy of Heaven, or trace those judgments which we must admit to be unsearchable? or, those ways which are past finding out? In the midst of his usefulness, Mr. M'Cornock was called from time into eternity; and those pious and seeking souls, who had been benefited by his ministry, were left on a sudden in the wilderness, exposed to dangers, and without any earthly pastor. His labors were too excessive for the strength of his constitution; he became exhausted with the violence of his exercises, and thus fell a martyr to that love which he bore to the cause of Jesus Christ, and to the souls of his fellow-creatures.

The intelligence of his death was received with much regret; and the deplorable situation of the island, in consequence thereof, was fully known; but it was not in our power, at that time, to supply his place. Several years elapsed from the period of his death, before a re-establishment of this mission took place; many, notwithstanding, retained their steadfastness, and were found as lights in a benighted land, after an interval of many years.

On the 3d of January 1793, on a voyage to St. Vincent's, our vessel touched at Dominica. I landed at Roseau, and embraced the opportunity of spending about four hours on shore, in order to inquire whether I could find out any of the flock of my dear deceased friend, *William M'Cornock.* On calling upon a man of color, the report of my arrival soon circulated, and about twenty of the fruits of that holy man's labors gathered round me. My time was limited, beyond the bounds of which I durst not pass; otherwise, a congregration might have been soon collected to hear that word delivered, of which they had been so long deprived. We, nevertheless, sang and united in prayer together, and the power and presence of God were assuredly in the midst of our little assembly. Indeed the fields were white unto harvest, but alas! alas! there were none to reap them.

The island of Dominica, though it had been deserted by us for a season through unavoidable necessity, had not been forgotten. We had anxiously waited the favorable concurrence of circumstances, but no opportunity presented itself

till the year 1794, when *Mr. Cook* was appointed to collect the wandering sheep, and to traverse anew that ground, over which Mr. M'Cornock had so successively trodden about six years before. Of his success nothing of consequence can be said; he labored with assiduity, and laid, in a certain measure, that foundation, on which his successors have since erected a spiritual fabric.

In 1796, Mr. Cook was succeeded by another Missionary, who was accompanied by Mr. Baxter. On the manner of their proceedings, and the prospects which the island then afforded, Mr. Baxter delivers his sentiments in the following letter:

"*Dominica, June* 1, 1796.

"My colleague and I arrived in this island last Thursday. We waited on Governor Hamilton, who received us very politely, and said, that he would throw nothing in our way, and expressed a wish, at the same time, that we might do good. *Mrs. Webley*, and our friends of color, received us very kindly. We find it impossible to preach by candle-light, for the white inhabitants are determined to persecute us, if we do; so we preach in the morning and at noon on week days, and at ten and four on Sundays. We have very serious and well-behaved congregations. Of the colored people, my colleague has formed twenty into a class; but we think it best not to be hasty in admitting persons into society. Our prospect, at present, is pleasing; but on account of the war every thing is extravagantly dear."

On the 11th of October, in the same year, we received a letter from one of the preachers, who speaks as follows of the state of religion, and of the views which he then formed, of the prosperity of the work of God in Dominica:

"Heaven be praised, I am well and happy. I am blessed with blessings from all quarters, and am desirous to be devoted to God, and to the work of the ministry. My labors in this island have, I hope, been blessed in a good measure to the people. We have now nearly eighty in class, many of whom are under awakenings. We have lately had some such powerful meetings, as I have rarely known in the West Indies. The congregations increase in number and respectability, and I charitably hope, in all that is good. We have peace and prosperity in all our borders."

Flattering as these prospects of peace and prosperity appeared, they were soon found to be delusive. The hackneyed notion, that the preaching of the gospel to the slaves would introduce among them notions of equality, began to spread among the planters. This awakened their jealousies, and gave birth to a determined opposition. To prevent the gospel from being propagated, they contrived to keep alive the report which their own fears had called into existence; and to communicate the tale to the President of the Assembly, in that light in which they wished him to behold it. These machinations were conducted with such secrecy, that the Missionary then resident in the island was ignorant of their existence, till the plot which had been concerted was about to be carried into immediate execution.

The month of October, 1796, had not fully expired, before the Missionary received a summons from the Colonel of the St. George's regiment, to appear in the field on the ensuing Sunday, to learn the use of arms. Surprised at such an unexpected call, without knowing the occasion, he immediately waited on the Colonel, stated to him the official duties which he had to perform on that day, and begged to be excused, that he might attend on the various branches of religious worship. The Colonel received him with much politeness, but observed, that it was not in his power to exempt him;—that he only acted in conformity with the orders he had received from the President, to whom he recommended him for the favor he wished to enjoy.

On waiting upon the President, he had the mortification to meet with a very different reception. He presented his petition in humble and appropriate terms, desiring to be exempted from military service, in order that he might attend to those ministerial duties, for which he came into the island. The petition was no sooner read, than it was treated with contempt. The President then told him, that he had been informed, that he was a very suspicious character, who disseminated pernicious doctrines among the slaves; and, that instead of being exempted from military duty, he would compel him to quit the island; and gave him an order accordingly.

With this imperious mandate he was obliged to comply, or suffer imprisonment. He accordingly took his leave of the people, who, in consequence of his removal, were once more left in the wilderness. He departed towards the close of the year, and spent his time in some of the other islands

as an auxiliary preacher, till directions from England provided for him a new appointment.

It was not till towards the end of the year 1798, that another Missionary could be sent to the island, with any probability of continuing on it. This was at length effected, through the interposition of a nobleman in England, who wrote a letter to the Governor on the occasion. Mr. Dumbleton, who was appointed to this island, found, on his arrival, that the prejudices of the planters, though raging with less vehemence, were far from being removed. Many among them, on being made acquainted with his intentions, hesitated not to declare, that no Methodist preacher should continue as such among them. The Governor, at this time, was at a distance from Roseau, and the issue appeared extremely doubtful. On his return, Mr. Dumbleton waited on him, stated his business, and was received with great politeness. His Excellency, on hearing his request, observed, that he had received some letters on the business from England; and, that while he conducted himself with propriety, he should experience his full protection.

In consequence of the persecution which we have just stated, and the effects which resulted from it, the society, which before was in a flourishing condition, experienced a considerable reduction. When Mr. Dumbleton arrived, not more than twelve members met regularly together, and the congregations at first were much diminished. But, as soon as the people discovered that they were permitted to assemble without interruption or molestation, they rapidly increased. Many, also, of the former members of society soon returned to their ancient union. In the mornings, about sixty or seventy well disposed persons regularly attended preaching, and before the end of the year the congregation was become truly respectable. At this time, the members in society amounted to about thirty.

By the year 1800, the prospects had so far brightened, that another chapel was thought necessary. A piece of land well adapted to this purpose was accordingly procured. In the meanwhile, the prejudices of the people had so considerably abated, that many, who had before entered their protests against the residence of a Methodist Missionary in the colony, were now as ready to contribute towards the purchase of the new chapel, as they had been forward in their wishes to have the old one destroyed.

In the year 1803, the society consisted of one hundred and three members, nine only of whom were whites. In the lives of many among these, the gospel had evidently produced some happy effects, and several during the preceding months had departed in the full triumph of faith. In the spring of this year, Mr. Taylor was appointed to succeed Mr. Dumbleton; but, through some of those disappointments which checquer human life, he did not follow his appointment. Mr. Boocock, however, came to supply his place; and reached Dominica in the month of June, much debilitated with an unpleasant passage. He preached but twice after his arrival. His complaint settled into a putrid fever, which, after confining him to his bed for some days, terminated in his death. From the accounts which were transmitted to the author, concerning this melancholy event, it appears, that he bore his affliction with holy resignation to the will of God: that in the midst of his sufferings, he found the grace of Christ to be sufficient for him, and took leave of his friends in a sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection to eternal life.

During the short period that the providence of God permitted him to remain in this island, he seems to have been particularly endeared to the people. No assistance was wanting which was in their power to procure; and when the last gasp proved all their efforts to be unavailing, his funeral was marked with peculiar memorials of their affection. The suddenness of his death left the society and congregation in a very distressing state. No preacher was on the island to supply his place; and many months necessarily elapsed before intelligence could be transmitted to England, and another sent to take the charge upon him. This appointment, at length, fell on Mr. Shepley, to whose letters we shall have recourse for our next stage of information, respecting the state of the work in this place.

From Mr. Robert Shepley; dated April 20, 1802.

"I embrace the present opportunity of informing you of my safe arrival in this island, in company with Mr. Baxter. We landed on the 17th of February, and found the society scattered all abroad, having had no pastor to look up to as their centre of union for so long a time. I believe the leaders did all in their power to keep them together, but in vain. But, thanks be to God, since my arrival the greatest part of them have returned; and I have

reason to believe, that several of them enjoy the comforts of religion. Indeed, I have joined new members every week since I came. There were about fifty that met in class when I arrived, and we have now seven whites and ninety-five blacks and colored people; so that I trust the Lord will carry on a glorious work in this island.

"I have had several invitations to visit the people on the English estates; and the negroes on several plantations have already built little wooden preaching-houses (or huts) by the consent of their masters, for the people to meet in. I intend, as soon as possible, to join them into classes; and I have no doubt, by the blessing of God, if I keep my health, that we shall have more members in the country than we have in the town. As our society at present is very small, the members cannot do much for the support of the cause, though I believe they are willing to do all in their power; but such is my necessity at this time, that I have been obliged to draw on you a bill for fifty pounds. Since I came to Dominica, I have been very poorly, but I trust that God will give me health for the sake of his church; and I yet hope to see his kingdom come with mighty power, when Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God."

Our next account of the work of God in this island is from Mr. Thomas Richardson, and is dated Dominica, February 1, 1803. Though the former part of this letter may be considered as exclusively applicable to Antigua, yet as it contains the observations of a mere spectator, who only paid the island a transient visit, it cannot be unacceptable to the reader, especially as it contains some observations which are not to be found in the history of that island.

"I continued," he observes, "very comfortably with my colleague, Mr. Thomson, among the kind friends at Liverpool, until the 13th of November 1802, when we sailed for the West Indies, and, after encountering many difficulties, anchored in St. John's harbor in Antigua, January 1, 1803. Our arrival in this island was very providential. Mr. Burkenhead, one of our Missionaries, had died of the yellow fever but a few weeks before; and Mrs. Baxter, wife of Mr. John Baxter, had been carried off by the same complaint. It had been so violent, that seven or eight Europeans died daily; but it had considerably abated previous to our arrival. What a time for men to think on

their ways and a future state! Mr. Thomson immediately caught the fever, and was given over by the physicians; but, thank God, he was so far recovered as to be able to preach in less than a month.

" The society in Antigua consists of about four thousand blacks and mulattoes, including a very small number of whites. In the congregations in the towns, the proportion of whites is not more than one to forty; but in the country congregations, it is very rare to see a white person. In St. John's we have a commodious chapel, which is generally crowded with hearers. In *Purham*, distant about eight miles, we have another, which is well attended; and also a dwelling-house, with other conveniences, for the preacher. At Willoughby, eight miles from Purham, and fifteen from St. John's, they are going to build a chapel. Besides these places of worship, the preachers get large congregations in negro-houses, in all parts of the country; but they are obliged to board and lodge at their own expense. There are in the island six or eight local preachers, besides several colored women who are very useful, and possess considerable abilities for prayer and exhortation. The women in St. John's hold public meetings every week. I once got into a corner where they could not see me, and was astonished at their eloquence and unction. Their abilities far exceed those of most of the women I have heard either speak or pray in England; and what is better still, they are patterns of genuine piety. The people, in their bands and love-feasts, are very ready to declare what God has done for their souls, and that with a simplicity which would astonish you.

" On the evening after our arrival, the society renewed their covenant with God. The women were nearly all dressed in white, and they sung the covenant hymn, " Come " let us use the grace divine," &c. remarkably well. Their devotion was very animated, and several were so affected before the conclusion of the hymn, that they wept aloud. During the reading of the form of the covenant, the assembly was as solemn as death. It would have done you good to have seen them. I think I was never more affected on such an occasion. I bless the day that I ever came among them, and praise the Lord with all my powers, that I was not disobedient to the heavenly vocation.

" On the 31st of January, I left the kind people of St. John's, embarked on board a small schooner, and arrived at *Roseau*, in *Dominica*, after a passage of fifty hours. I saw

St. Bartholomew's, St. Christopher's, Nevis, Mountserrat, and *Guadaloupe,* in the way. Mr. and Mrs. Shepley received me very affectionately. The Captain did all in his power to make me comfortable. Surely the goodness of God is in all the earth!

"In the town of *Roseau* we have upwards of one hundred in society. The chapel is rather small, but the dwelling-house is very commodious. In the country we have more than four hundred in society, and the negroes have built little places of worship at their own expense. At *Prince Rupert's* we have a very fine opening, and are likely to have a larger society there than in any other part of the island. It is about ten leagues from Roseau by sea; and we always choose to go by water, the road being almost impassable. We have been invited to preach on many estates, and the proprietors have given orders for us to be entertained at their own expense.

"The islands, in general, are very mountainous; and none, perhaps, more so than Dominica. To describe the hills, and rocks, and precipices, would require an abler hand than mine. They really have a terrific appearance. This island is only cultivated near the sea. Probably nine parts out of ten remain in a state of rude nature, and are chiefly covered with forests, trees, and brush-wood. The houses here are chiefly built of wood; and instead of glass, they have lattices, which exclude the sun and admit the air. Chimnies they have none, having no occasion for fire. All their cookery is performed in out-houses; and their washing, near the wells or streams of water.

"The slaves are in a better condition than the free colored people, having a weekly allowance of salt provisions, two suits of clothes in the year, and a sufficiency of land to plant for their own use. But their morals are in a deplorable state. The Lord's day is scandalously profaned. On this solemn day, the stores are all open as on other days. On this day, the negroes bring their provisions to market, and afterwards spend their time in music and dancing, till called to work next morning. Except on Sundays, the black men go half naked; but on the Sabbath, they dress like the English, with the exception of shoes and stockings. The black women generally wear a handkerchief round the head, instead of a cap; and a few have hats instead of bonnets. Gowns, stays, stockings, and shoes, are not in use; but they look very well in their white muslin jackets and petticoats.

"In my excursions through the country, I have found

the people ripe for the gospel, and much readier to receive it than the poor in England. Some have told me, that they walked thirty miles to get instructed in the christian religion, and have continued to serve the Lord from the first time they heard a sermon. In some places where they have no preaching at all, they have erected commodious little houses for prayer. Some of them have been severely punished for attending these meetings; but it has had no other effect than to make them more vigorous in serving God. I have really been astonished at the propriety and power with which they have spoken of the Lord's dealings with their souls. Oh! if the young men in England did but know how these poor heathen pant after, and thirst for, the gospel of Christ, they would not be so reluctant to leave their country, to help a wretched people who are groaning for redemption.

"Were I at home, and in the most affluent circumstances, I would, without hesitation or delay, leave all, and hasten to this burning climate, in obedience to my heavenly Master's call. And even now, though I might have a passage gratis, and the best circuit in England on my return, I would reject the offer for the sake of preaching to my dark and tawny brethren in these islands. My constitution, I thank God, is well calculated to bear the climate; I never enjoyed better health in any period of my life. O that I may devote it entirely to the glory of God."

From the same; dated Dominica, April 26, 1803.

"I now take up my pen to give you a farther account of the work of God in this island. The proprietors of estates, and other gentlemen in this colony, have always, till very lately, been strongly prejudiced against us. Hence, for the most trifling reasons they banished one, if not more, of our ministers. Two died soon after their arrival; and he who preceded Mr. Shepley was never further, I believe, than a few miles from *Roseau*. So that, previously to the arrival of my colleague, the gospel had but a slender footing here. He found about fifty members regularly joined in society; and since that time, prejudice has been gradually wearing off. The Governor, I hope, thinks favorably of the mission; and several of the principal families espouse our cause.

"We have now permission to preach on most of the estates throughout the island, though the proprietors or occupiers of many had never before seen a Missionary;

nor had the poor slaves ever before heard a gospel sermon. Now, on the Lord's day, they come many miles from the country to hear, and receive the word with tears of joy. O my dear Sir, I never conceived the willingness of these people to receive the gospel, till I came among them; but, being persuaded the call was from God, I left my native country. But had I known their disposition, I should have wished for wings, that I might have lost no time in shewing them the way to heaven. Blessed be the Lord, he hath abundantly owned the labors of his two unworthy servants. Our field is so enlarged, that we have divided the island into two circuits. Our chief places of residence are about thirty miles distant from each other. We change stations about once a month, passing and re-passing by sea. The number in society is now about seven hundred; and the Lord is adding to them "daily such as," I trust, are, and "shall "be saved." Thus the word of the Lord has gloriously prevailed over the powers of darkness, and that in a short time.

"As a specimen, I beg leave to give you a journal of the work for the last ten days. On Sunday se'nnight, I joined to the society ten slaves, who were seeking freedom from the slavery of sin. Tuesday night, just after retiring, I was awakened by a negro, who had come many miles to tell me, that God had pardoned all his sins; that I might rejoice and praise the Lord on his account. On Wednesday, three free mulatto young women came, and desired admission into the society. On the Saturday, one of them returned, and said, she had found her sins such a burden that she could not sleep. I pointed her to the Lord Jesus; and while I prayed, she prostrated herself on the floor, and seemed as in the agonies of death; but the Lord soon spoke peace to her soul, and she went home rejoicing. In the evening, two other mulatto women, earnestly seeking the Lord, came and desired to be received into union with our people. On the Sunday, I joined to the society, on trial, fifty-eight slaves and one white man. Great numbers wept aloud during the morning and evening service; and few, if any, were unaffected. Presently after the meeting, one of the women, who had attended also on the Wednesday, came running and shouting for joy: "O brother," said she, "I "am happy, I am happy, I am happy. Praise the Lord "on my account. I was never so happy in all my life." Next morning I met the people a little after five o'clock, that being our usual hour; when she related her conversion

to the congregation, who were all powerfully affected. About an hour after this, another free young woman came mourning, and desired to know what she must do to be saved? In another hour, the sister of her that had received Divine consolation on Sunday came in the greatest distress; and, falling upon her knees, begged we would pray for her. Just after dinner, a third also came, exceedingly distressed on account of her sins; and God had mercy on her, as on both the others; glory be to his name. They all went home rejoicing. During the evening-meeting, four more free people received a sense of the pardon of their sins, and returned to their houses with joy. This morning, before I reached the place of meeting, I heard the cries of the people. One black woman found peace, who had been seeking it for some time. One of the superintending slaves went home, and related this conversation to his people; and all who were in the field began to cry for mercy. Surely the visible change so speedily wrought in the countenances of these people, is sufficient to convince any infidel of the power and grace of God.

"By this short extract from my journal, you will see how wonderfully the Lord is reviving his work in this island; and how happy I am that God has counted me worthy to speak in his name! Please to remember me to my relations and all my religious friends."

That these letters, which we have just inserted, present to the christian world a pleasing prospect of the work of God in Dominica, it is as needless to assert as it is useless to deny. But who can comprehend the mysterious economy of Heaven? Our next accounts bring with them a mournful gloom, and inform us, that the Missionary whose letters we have just transcribed was called from time into eternity, in the midst of that usefulness which so evidently accompanied his labors in this part of the vineyard of our Lord.

The shadows which involve the dispensations of Providence preclude us from the possibility of measuring infinite wisdom, or of adjusting the Divine actions by those laws which regulate the morals of mankind. They fill the mind with reflections of the most solemn nature, and act as warnings to teach survivors to *prepare to meet their God.* They shew us the instability of human life, even when devoted to that cause which heaven itself has displayed miracles to promote; and awfully tell us, that there is no safe repose beneath the

sun, except in Him who can both protect and bless us to all eternity.

They teach the various members of the church of Christ, that no glory is to be attributed to the instruments of their conversion, whatever success may have attended their labors, or how eminent soever they may have been for genuine piety and devotedness to God. They are calculated to wean the affections from all created good, and to draw the soul to that infinite source of perfection and felicity which can neither expire nor change.

And, finally, we may observe, that as those shadows through which we are obliged to pass in the present life are sometimes perfectly impenetrable, we thereby may obtain an assurance that there must be another and a better world. Here, then, we find room for faith to exercise all its powers, while we follow the conduct of our God to a land unknown. In his moral attributes, and in his revealed will, our faith finds firm footing. Here patience must have its perfect work; and we are taught, from the principles of human existence, that a perfect knowledge of these incomprehensibles can only be obtained in eternity; and that death is a necessary step towards that perfection of knowledge, which we seek in vain on this side of the grave.

From Mr. Baxter; dated Antigua, June 7, 1803.

"It is painful to me to be a messenger of grief, lamentation, and woe; but I am obliged to perform the disagreeable task. I received a letter from brother *Shepley*, informing me that he was very slowly recovering from a dangerous fever, and that brother *Richardson* was given over by the doctor at *Prince Rupert's Bay*, where brother *William M'Cornock* paid the debt of nature. I believe the Lord has made these brethren very useful, and a good work is now going on; and if we do not strain every nerve in such a case, we cannot be said to love as brethren. I have taken a passage for Dominica, and shall carry the money to relieve them; and, if need be, shall bring or send brother Richardson to Antigua. I bless God he gives me health, and I desire to use it to his glory. I thank him, also, that the work is going on here steadily, and I hope is deepened as well as extended. *Mary Darby*, who has been a member of society thirty years, is now dying in the full triumph of faith, and is rejoicing in God."

On the eighth of July 1803, which was only one month after that on which the preceding letter was written, Mr. Shepley, from Dominica, transmitted an account, which in some measure dissipated the apprehensions that Mr. Baxter's letter had occasioned. But, unhappily, it was a transient gleam of hope, which only glittered for a moment to expire in that darkness which hovers round the tomb.

" I embrace the present opportunity of informing you of the recovery of both brother Richardson and myself from our late indisposition of body. We are still very weak; yet, I trust, we are out of all danger from the fever. I was sick about six weeks, and brother Richardson about seven. But, blessed be the name of the Lord, we have now begun to labor again a little; and what is best of all, the Lord is with us, both to wound the impenitent, and to heal the broken-hearted.

" The last time I was at Prince Rupert's Bay, I joined upwards of one hundred and thirty people in society, in the course of eight or ten days. So mightily is the Lord working in that part of the island! Many of these new members, we trust, are not only joined in church-fellowship with one another, but are joined to the Lord in one spirit. They can give a very clear account of the pardoning love of God shed abroad in their hearts. Many others of them are truly convinced of sin, and seeking redemption in the blood of Jesus. To his name be all the glory.

" It is not yet quite twelve months since I first went amongst them, and there are now about six hundred in society. What hath the Lord wrought among these poor heathens! Glory be to his name for ever! I trust that by the end of the year, if the Almighty please to spare our lives, and continue to give his blessing to our labors, we shall have nearly one thousand in society. But, as I said in my last, we are in very great want of a chapel there (Prince Rupert's Bay); and it is not in the power of the poor negroes to build one, without considerable help from our friends in Europe. I shall be thankful to you for directions in this matter. We do not increase in the town so rapidly as in the country. This is owing chiefly, I think, to the opposition we have from the white people, who will not suffer us to have either public or private meetings by candle-light. And as the generality of our hearers are either slaves, who are obliged to attend to the business of their owners by day, or poor people, who have to get their

living by their labor, they cannot attend so well by day-light as they could by candle-light.

" In February 1802, I found but *fifty* in society in the whole island; now we have *nine hundred.* Blessed be the Lord for the work he has wrought. The work is his, and to him will we ascribe the glory. I hope in my next I shall be able to tell you of our success on the windward side of the island; as we are about to use every means in our power to get permission from the owners of estates on that side, to go and instruct their negroes."

In another letter, which in point of date somewhat precedes the foregoing, Mr. Shepley states the condition of the society, and of the work at large, and also the prospects which lay before them, during the illness of himself and his family, in the following language:

" I sit down to write in a weak state of body. The Lord has been trying us in Dominica in the fire of affliction. Both brother Richardson and myself have been ill of a fever at the same time. It is now nearly six weeks since I was first taken sick; but, blessed be God, I am so far recovered as to begin to labor a little; but poor brother Richardson is yet very ill. Eight days ago the doctors gave up all hopes of his recovery, and said they could do no more for him. But since that time, he has altered a good deal for the better, and the fever has begun to intermit. It only attacks him now every other day. He is at present at Prince Rupert's Bay; but I mean, as soon as he is fit to be removed, to have him brought to Roseau for the benefit of the air. It is more healthy here than there. It was at that place I caught my sickness, and there it was that our brother M'Cornock died.

" We have joined nearly five hundred in that place, and the people are crying out on every hand for mercy. Many of them can already rejoice in God their Saviour; and others are so earnestly seeking the same salvation, that they will not let us rest in our beds at night, but they come and beg us to get up, and either help them to praise God, or else to pray to him for mercy for them. I never before, wherever I have been, saw so great a prospect of good. We change with each other every fortnight, on account of the place being so sickly. It is about thirty miles from Roseau. His Excellency Governor Provost has given us a grant of an acre of crown land there, to build a chapel on; but we

want money to build with. Surely never was a chapel more wanted any where, *for there is not a place of worship of any kind within twenty miles of it.* And the only place which we have for the people to meet in, is a small thatched house, which will not contain a fourth part even of the society; much less is there room for the many others that attend. My dear Sir, I hope you will help us all you can. I am sure, if our friends in England, who wish well to the Redeemer's kingdom among these poor heathen, did but know how frequently they stand weeping without in the midst of torrents of rain, and crying to God, at the same time, for mercy, they would not withhold their help, but readily step forward to assist in building them a house, in which they may worship God. My dear friends, into whose hands this letter may come, let me assure you, this is a true statement. And let me inquire, whether your bowels of compassion do not yearn over these outcasts of men? and, whether you can withhold your help on such an occasion? May the Lord assist you to shew your love to him, by helping his poor members."

We have stated in a former extract, taken from a letter transmitted by Mr. Baxter, that as soon as he had learned the condition of *Mr. Shepley* and *Mr. Richardson*, in Dominica, he had drawn for money to relieve them in their distresses, and that he had taken a passage in a vessel to visit them on the spot. The following letter, written by Mr. Baxter, contains his report on the issue of that voyage, both as it applied to himself, and to the state of those Missionaries whom he purposely visited. His letter is dated July 28, 1803, and was written from Antigua soon after his return.

"Agreeably to what I wrote to you in my laft, I went to Dominica, and found brother Richardson recovering from his dangerous fever. But they had not a dollar in the house, though they had pressing accounts to settle. Brother Shepley had been obliged to part with all the money that should have paid the quarterage of the preachers, so that they were in great distress. I gave them the money I drew on you for, and brother Shepley paid *ninety-nine* pounds and some shillings to settle their accounts.

"There is a great work begun at Prince Rupert's. Many are converted to God, and numbers in distress

seeking pardon. But it is an unhealthy place for Europeans; and I fear few preachers will be able to stand it.

"I continued a week at Dominica; but, finding myself unwell, I happily got a passage for Antigua, where I arrived with the fever. I landed on Wednesday night, and sent for the doctor immediately. No dangerous symptoms then appeared. But on Friday I was dangerously ill, and all hope of life was gone. I felt perfectly resigned, and had a full assurance of my acceptance with my heavenly Father. I thought I should die that night, or the next morning, and that I should be buried by my wife on Sunday. I thought the taking of medicine needless; and when the nurse came to bring me some on Saturday morning, I asked, *Do you not think I shall be dead by noon?* She replied "No." I then took what she gave me; and, to the surprise of the physician that was called in, and of all that attended me, I began to recover. I bless God, I am now as well as when I arrived from England. How mysterious are the ways of the Lord!"

From the same; dated Antigua, October 25, 1803.

"I wrote to you about seven weeks ago, that brother Shepley had arrived at Antigua very sick. He reached us on Monday, just alive. He was ordered to leave Dominica, as the only means of saving his life. He had been very useful in that island, as brother Richardson informed you at large. On his arrival, we had no other way of providing for him but by drawing on you for fifty pounds, besides one hundred and forty-nine pounds four shillings and elevenpence, for which he had drawn on you before. Since his arrival he has had a relapse; but, by the blessing of God, is now in a fair way of doing well.

"I am now sorry to inform you, that I have received letters by the packet, informing me of the death of brother Richardson, who departed this life on Sunday the 9th of October. By letters which he wrote to send to his father, and a particular friend, it appears, that he thought himself seasoned to Dominica, and rejoiced in the prospect of seeing his labors crowned with great success. But on October the 4th, he was attacked with a fever, which in five days cut him off. He was persuaded, that Dominica was the place to which God had called him; and hence he observed, in a letter to his friend, "*I would not wish to live in any place*

" *but Dominica;*" adding at the same time, " *that he had* " *seen as many remarkable instances of conversion among* " *the negroes, as he had ever seen or known in England.*" That God should take him away in the midst of his usefulness, is to us very mysterious."

These awful providences placed the Missionary church in Dominica in a very critical situation. The labors of two were absolutely necessary; but sickness and death had removed both of those who had been stationed in the island; and we felt much embarrassment in getting the place of either properly supplied. " Brother *Patterson*," Mr. Baxter continues, " having been only six weeks in Antigua, thought it hard to remove so soon. I am unequal to the task. Therefore, the matter being urgent, brother *Richard Pattison*, another Missionary, saw it his duty to go, though his wife was but just brought to bed of another son. He, therefore, goes by himself first; and if the island seems to agree with him, he will fetch his wife. But no one preacher can supply Dominica. Three years ago the inhabitants would hardly permit a preacher to land in that island; and now there are more places to receive us than we can supply. If brother Shepley recovers his health, he is willing to return to Dominica.

" Brother Richardson died rejoicing in the Lord. The Rev. *Mr. Audain* buried him, and preached his funeral sermon; and it appears by a letter which he wrote to me, that his death is much regretted by all who knew him."

On the 8th of December, 1803, Mr. Shepley, whom we have just seen reduced to the margin of the grave, by that disease which proved fatal to Mr. Richardson, and had been removed to the less insalubrious atmosphere of Antigua, forwarded a letter relative to the general disaster, from which we will take some extracts to lay before the reader. At the time that the letter was written, he had so far recovered from his severe indisposition, as to be able once more to return to Dominica, to persevere in that line of arduous duty, which had already been attended with such imminent hazard; and hence the letter to which we allude is dated from *Roseau*.

" I doubt not, that before this time you have heard of my sickness, and of brother Richardson's death. In April last I was seized with an intermitting fever, and since that time I have had it five times over. It had nearly brought

me to the grave. The doctors advised me, as the only means left of saving my life, to quit the island immediately. In consequence of this information, I and my family went on board the packet on the 3d of September, and arrived at Antigua on the 5th of the same month. But I was so weak in body, that, on getting on shore, I could scarcely reach brother Baxter's house. I had only been there about a month before I was again seized with the fever, and was sick about five or six weeks. But, thanks be to God, he hath restored me once more to my health. As soon as I heard that I was appointed another year for Dominica, I embraced the first opportunity of returning to this colony.

"Brother Richardson died on the 9th of October, of the fever; he was happy in the Lord. The little time he labored in the island, which was only a few months, the Lord owned his labors much. He was beloved by the people, and his death is greatly lamented. We have been in the furnace of affliction in this colony; may God grant that we may be purified from the dross of sin! The Lord continues to carry on his work here. I believe we are upwards of nine hundred in society: to his name be ascribed all the glory. Pray for us, that God may hasten the day, when Ethiopia shall more fully stretch out her hands unto God. I remain, dear Sir, your's in the bonds of the gospel."

The changes which are inseparable from our itinerant plan, and are upon the whole exceedingly useful, brought Mr. Dumbleton, in the year 1804, once more into the island of Dominica. Of the state of religion towards the close of that year, he speaks in general terms, without entering into a minute discrimination of particular places, or marking that singular success, which we have noted in those letters that have been already inserted. But his view of the work of God will best appear in his own words.

Dominica, December 10, 1804.

"I arrived here November 15, 1804, and found the society attending their meetings tolerably well in Roseau. But in the country they are in a scattered state, as sheep without a shepherd. Brother Shepley obtained a grant for an acre of land from the Governor, at Prince Rupert's Bay, twenty-eight miles from town, and we are building a

chapel on it. God is with us. Some souls have been lately brought to feel the saving power of grace."

By a further account from this island in 1805, we have again been taught, that nothing is safe beneath the throne of God. The world in which we live is agitated with natural earthquakes and civil convulsions. Subterranean fires and imprisoned air unite with avarice and ambition, and alternately scorch mankind with flames, and deluge the plains with human blood. Towards the establishment of this truth, the following letter, written by *Mr. Gilgrass*, one of our Missionaries in Dominica, will serve to add its mite to thy grand mass of evidence which every age of the world affords us. It is dated March 11, 1805.

" In February last, (by the permission of God,) our enemies made us an unwelcome visit. Early on Friday morning there was an alarm fired. It was at first reported, that the Demerara fleet was approaching; but a little time convinced us it was a French fleet, consisting of eight sail, one of one hundred and twenty guns, four of seventy-four, two privateers, and a brig. Instantly the whole town was all in confusion, and the inhabitants began to remove their most valuable property, and to leave their habitations. For a short time the thirty-six pounders whizzed about our heads in a most dreadful manner.

" Their ships were very well manned, having on board upwards of five thousand musketeers. By their flat-bottomed boats, each of which held eighty men, they soon landed eleven or twelve hundred at the fort. Our number there was not more than one hundred. For as they landed at different places, our force was divided; and it was greatly to our disadvantage that we had but few regulars. The Governor, General Provost, is truly a man of courage, and worthy of high esteem. He is also a friend to the cause of God, and represses the spirit of persecution. When I presented myself before him, he advised me to take care of myself, and said he should be happy to hear of my prosperity.

" The town now lies in a ruinous state indeed. A third part is burnt down; and the storehouses being consumed, both food and raiment are destroyed. The enemy demanded a large sum of money, and took with him all the vessels in the harbor, excepting two, and these would not carry sail.

They also seized upon many negroes; and, after plundering the inhabitants, departed.

"I bless God, that all I lost by them was a little sweat in running through the woods, and climbing stupendous mountains. Being, however, for some time without food of any kind whatever, I was brought very low indeed. But not having finished my work here below, the Lord, in mercy to both soul and body, hath preserved me from the calamities which many have suffered. Before the invasion, we had a bright expectation of much good being done; but since that time, there has been a declension of the work. I trust, however, through the exercise of faith and prayer, that the people will again recover their spiritual strength."

The happy effects of faith and prayer, which seem to have been anticipated towards the close of the preceding letter, we find to have been, in a great measure, realized in the autumn of the same year. God has always been mindful of his church and people; and, in the midst of accumulated disasters, has either rescued them from distress, or provided for their safety in the midst of embarrassments. This was particularly the case in the island of Dominica. Darkness, indeed, continued for a season, but light and joy succeeded it almost immediately. The temporary disasters, which brought both terror and devastation, were of short continuance, in a religious point of view; calculated rather to disturb the tranquillity of the people, than to prevent the progress of the cause of God.

But this truth will best appear from the following letter, written by *Mr. Dumbleton*, *Mr. Gilgrass's* colleague, dated Dominica, October 10, 1805, and addressed to the author:

"Notwithstanding the distress which the French and the fire occasioned here, the cause of God prospers. The society and congregation have increased in Roseau. Many have been awakened and justified; and the chapel is become so much too small, that it will not contain more than half of the hearers that attend on Sunday afternoons. We have, therefore, begun to enlarge it.

Prince Rupert's Bay is very sickly; which is, probably, owing to a swamp that extends for many miles. The government has sustained so great a loss in the garrison there, that they have agreed to give a gentleman nineteen thousand pounds to drain it near the garrison. He has been nearly

two years at work upon it, with a number of negroes, and is likely to succeed. I hope when this is accomplished, the place will be more healthy. I have been five times there, and am persuaded we should have a large society, if we could but keep our health; but I have caught the fever four times out of the five. Brother *Gilgrass* has not gone thither yet. Every preacher endangers his life every time he goes. Our chapel there, which is fifty feet by thirty, is just finished; and a debt of thirty *joes* is incurred thereby, which would soon be paid, if a preacher could but live there.

" I bless God for his many mercies bestowed on me, my family, and his church in this island. Our meetings, in general, are very pleasing and profitable."

Our next account from Dominica records the death of another Missionary; namely, *Mr. John Hawkshaw*, who came hither after making an unsuccessful effort to establish the gospel on the continental shores; to which attempt it may not, perhaps, be improper to advert.

It was not very early in those periods which we have had occasion so frequently to notice (when America and the West India Islands were peopled by the inhabitants of Europe), that the Dutch established themselves at Surinam, on the shores of the continent. This vast territory was, indeed, first seized upon by the French, so early as 1640; but these adventurers being too impatient to wait upon the progress of nature, in ripening the various productions of the soil, soon after abandoned it altogether, as a worthless acquisition. The English, more industrious and persevering than their Gallic neighbours, proceeded, immediately on their departure, to cultivate the lands which the former occupants had so much neglected.

Their habits of persevering industry were soon crowned with considerable success; in consequence of which, they were unhappily compelled to know, " That wealth within " was ruin at the door." In 1667, our countrymen were attacked by the Dutch, who, on their landing, finding the colonists scattered over a vast tract of territory, soon brought them into subjection, and wrenched the whole district from their hands. Within a few years from this period, the English inhabitants were collected together, and, to the number of about twelve hundred, transported to Jamaica. Surinam then remained in the possession of the invaders, and was ceded to the Republic of Holland in a formal manner.

The extraordinary success which attended this settlement

induced them to attempt another, in the year 1732, upon the river Berbice, a stream which falls into the ocean about sixty miles west of Surinam. The vast success which attended these enterprizes emboldened new adventurers to embark in new undertakings. These, forming themselves into an association, directed their industrious attention towards the banks of the *Demerary* and *Issequibo*, which discharge their waters within about twenty-five leagues of the principal mouth of the river *Oronooko*.

The prosperity of these settlements awakened the ambition of the rival nations, and held out a source of temptation, which was to them irresistible, when war justified an attack, and probability seemed to favor the attempt with a promise of success. In 1781, both these settlements surrendered to the valor of British arms, as Surinam had surrendered to that of Holland in a former period. Immediately on their conquest, reports were circulated highly in their favor; insomuch that they were represented as of equal, if not of more importance, than all our other acquisitions in the West Indies. But, probably, these reports were more popular than genuine, for certain it is, that they engrossed but a small share of the attention of our government;—an attention by no means equal to that importance which they derived from public report. Their defenceless state was soon known; and France, actuated by the same principles that England had before manifested towards the Dutch, seized the most favorable moment to wrench them from our hands. Accordingly they were soon afterward retaken by a single frigate belonging to that nation, and the hopes of our country were once more blasted respecting these possessions.

The numerous wars which unhappily disgrace Europe, and deluge many of her most fertile provinces with human blood, are accompanied with changes which are felt in every quarter of the globe. The late war once more brought these distant provinces into our hands. They were surrendered to the British forces on the 21st of April, 1796; since which period, they have been treated with that respect which their present importance, and the success which they promise to their possessors, so justly demand.

From the period that *Demerara* became a colony of the British empire, it held out a temptation which invited the enterprizing from various of the British islands. Many resorted thither, carrying with them their slaves; so that the colony is so thickly peopled, that it is now computed to contain no less than one hundred thousand negroes. Several

of these, prior to their departure from the islands in which they had been accustomed to reside, had attended the preaching of the gospel, and had experienced its saving power; their removal, therefore, to the settlement of *Demerara*, was as the removal of them into a land in which there was no water, and in which their souls could find no spiritual food.

A conviction that many hundreds of these were thus wandering as sheep without a shepherd, while so many thousands, who knew not God, were thus perishing for lack of knowledge, inclined us to attempt the establishment of a mission among them; and *Mr. John Hawkshaw* was appointed to make the first essay. The manner of his proceeding, his reception, the failure of his endeavor, and his consequent return to Barbadoes, he has detailed to us in the following letter. It is dated, Barbadoes, October 18, 1805; and is as follows:

"I now take the liberty to acquaint you with the issue of my visit to *Demerara*. On the 23d of September, being much better in health, and my leg (the state of which I mentioned in my last) being nearly healed, I took my departure on board the mail-boat, and on the 30th arrived safely in *Demerara* river, near the town of *Stabrook*. On the following day I went on shore, and found several friends for whom I had letters of recommendation; particularly Mrs. J. Clifton, with whom you had an interview during her visit to Europe.

"She treated me with great respect, and was extremely sorry when she found that the Governor would not suffer me to stay. Several others for whom I had letters, as soon as they knew my errand to Demerara, were exceedingly glad, and hastened to see me, and to express their joy on my arrival. But, alas! I am sorry to say, that their joy was of short duration. Their highly elated hopes of hearing the gospel preached by a Methodist Missionary were suddenly cast down. Many of these well-disposed persons had come from the West India Islands, and knew something of the true way of salvation. They shewed me much kindness, and would have befriended me much, had I been suffered to remain among them.

"On the 2d of October, being the second day after my arrival, I waited on his Excellency, Governor *Baujon*, who is, I believe, a native of *Carassow*, or *Carasso*, to give in my name as a passenger in the mail-boat, conformably to a

law of that place. After a short conversation, which consisted chiefly of interrogations, I told him that I was a Missionary in the Methodist connexion, and that my design was to preach the gospel, and to instruct the negroes in the principles of christianity. Here he interrupted me, and said, " If that be what you are come to do, you must go " back. I cannot let you stay here; and, therefore, you " had best return in the mail-boat."

" I then shewed him my credentials, lest he should doubt my right to preach as a Missionary. When he had read the oaths of allegiance, he asked me where I was born. I answered, that I was born in England, about twenty miles from the city of York. " But," said he, " you are not " ordained." To this I replied, May it please your Excellency, I am ordained as a Protestant Dissenter. I then shewed him my letters of orders, which he read, and then returned, saying, " You cannot stay here; you must go " back in the mail-boat." I then observed to him, that the Methodist Missionaries were tolerated to preach in all the British West India Colonies, equally as in England; and that we had very respectable congregations at *Antigua*, *Nevis*, *St. Kitt's*, *Tortola*, &c.: to which he answered, " Yes; but it cannot be so here." Thinking that he would deliberate a little on the business, I said, " May it please " your Excellency, may I call upon you another time." To this he answered, " No; there will be no occasion, as " you cannot stay; I suppose you will go back in the " mail-boat." I then took my leave of him, and came away, with a mind not a little grieved at his conduct. His treatment towards me occasioned many tears; but I hope that the Lord will soon open a way for the gospel in that country, where there are so many who would be glad to hear it.

" The mail-boat, after the above altercation, was detained three days; during which time, I frequently prayed and exhorted among the friends with whom I resided. On the 8th of October, I sailed from *Demerara;* and on the 12th, arrived at Barbadoes, among my old friends, who received me with their usual kindness."

On the arrival of Mr. Hawkshaw at Barbadoes, he found himself destitute of employment; because, as he had been appointed for Demerara, the islands had been supplied with other Missionaries, who were now in their respective stations. The failure, therefore, of his intended mission, obliged him

to weigh maturely which of the islands stood most in need of his auxiliary aid. That on which he fixed was Dominica; and to this he repaired by the first opportunity, to assist Mr. Dumbleton, who had been stationed in this place.

He arrived at Roseau on the 8th of December, 1805, where he stayed five days, and preached twice. He then went to *Prince Rupert's Bay,* the place which has mysteriously furnished so many of our Missionaries with employment and a grave.

In this part of the island, the power of Almighty grace had attended the preaching of the word in a most remarkable manner; though, prior to the establishment of the Methodist missions, no public worship was known. The Missionaries, therefore, with the assistance of their friends, had erected a convenient chapel, and prosperity waited upon every exertion that they made. In the midst of this success, a violent hurricane attacked their chapel, razed it to the ground, and laid a temporary embargo on the progress of their labors, and on their hopes. Unhappily, the members of society, being chiefly slaves, were too poor to rebuild it. In consequence of this disaster, for a considerable time they were totally destitute of a place in which to worship God. The society, therefore, suffered considerably from this calamity, and many months elapsed before they were able to repair their loss. Previously, however, to the arrival of Mr. Hawkshaw, notwithstanding the general poverty which prevailed, and the excessively high price of materials, they had contrived, through the further generosity of their friends, to rebuild the chapel; or rather, to erect another, better adapted to the congregation that attended, because it was calculated to accommodate a greater number of persons. It was sufficiently large to contain a congregation of about a thousand people; and, at the time Mr. Hawkshaw visited this insalubrious spot, the society consisted of nearly six hundred.

After preaching in this place, with great success and much personal satisfaction, about a month, he was seized in a very severe manner, with the same fatal fever which had already taken off Mr. M'Cornock and Mr. Richardson, and from which Mr. Shepley and Mr. Dumbleton had with so much difficulty escaped.

At this time Mr. Dumbleton was at Roseau, a distance of about thirty miles from Prince Rupert's; but Mr. Hawkshaw manifesting a sincere desire to see him, a boat was sent off to fetch him, and bring him to Prince Rupert's. This boat reached Roseau in the night, at a time when the

inhabitants were under great alarm, in consequence of the appearance of a fleet, supposed to be French, which then hovered off that part of the island. This necessarily occasioned some delay. The coast, however, being clear in the morning, Mr. Dumbleton set off, and arrived at Prince Rupert's about five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

On reaching the lodgings of Mr. Hawkshaw, he found him very low, he having for eight days been afflicted with a constant thirst and vomiting. This had occasioned a considerable soreness in his breast, and rendered it both difficult and painful for him to speak. A blister had already been applied, but the effects which were expected from it had hitherto failed; so that, from the train of usual remedies he had been able to find no relief.

The sight of his friend, Mr. Dumbleton, afforded him a momentary exhilaration of spirits; but the disease had seized upon his vitals, and life was almost reduced to its lowest ebb. With a prospect of death before him, he expressed a strong confidence in his God and Saviour, and a lively hope of eternal life.

Being desirous to be removed, if possible, to Roseau, and the doctor who had attended him being of opinion that it might be done without imminent danger, a boat was procured, in which was spread a mattrass, beneath an awning, which defended him from the sun. In this boat he was placed with his friend, and they proceeded on their coasting voyage. When they had rowed about six miles, he said that he felt himself better. But after they had been in the boat about two hours and a half, and had reached that time on which he had felt himself worse on the two preceding days, they perceived him to grow much weaker, and, therefore, took him on shore, and put him immediately to bed.

From this time he spoke but little, and soon discovered symptoms of being in a dying state. They, therefore, joined in prayer with him, and committed his soul into the hands of his dear Redeemer. He caught hold of Mr. Dumbleton's hand, and endeavored to speak, but his words could find no utterance. Soon after this he fell asleep, without a groan or struggle. His body was then carried to Roseau, and interred the next evening in some ground belonging to the chapel. A large congregation attended on the mournful occasion; which Mr. Dumbleton endeavored to improve, by

delivering a discourse on Phil. i. 21. *For me, to live is Christ, and to die is gain.*

Thus strange and incomprehensible are the mysterious ways of heaven! They baffle all our calculations, and even bid defiance to conjecture. To give them a solution which can be reconciled with the moral attributes of God, without having recourse to another life, is absolutely impossible. And, perhaps, these gloomy dispensations of divine Providence, through which infidelity doubts the superintendance of a moral Governor of the universe, afford us some of the strongest and most unanswerable arguments in behalf of a future state.

Called as we are to follow the great Head of the church, not merely into an unknown land, but into a future world, nothing but revelation can supply our faith with wings, and lift us above those shadows, which, in themselves, rather quench ardor than add energy to human hope. In cases like these, what can the frigid disquisitions of philosophy accomplish? They can freeze what nothing but revelation can thaw; and, perhaps, all that the light of philosophy can do for us is to conduct us to the utmost verge of the horizon of human knowledge, and then doom us to repose in silence, under those clouds which never can be pierced. But revelation, in an instant, dispels the shadows, and gives vigor to that faith,

> "Whose eagle eyes can pierce beyond the veil
> "That wraps in darkness all beyond the grave."

Of Mr. Hawkshaw's character, both as a minister and a christian, some account has been published in the minutes of the Methodist Conference, for the year 1806. And it is but a tribute of respect to his memory, which both justice and friendship demand, to notice, in this place, at least those features in his character which are of personal and official application.

Prior to his embarkation for the West Indies, he travelled in England two years, with an unblemished character; after which he repaired to those islands of the sea, in which he laboured, in which he was useful, and in which he, finally, found a grave.

Of his visit to Demerara, his return to Barbadoes, and removal to Dominica, we have already spoken, and, therefore, to these particulars we need not again advert. In his

dying hours, his expressions were, " my confidence in God " is firm; I know that I am born to greater joys;" and, with this conviction, in the full triumph of faith, he passed into eternity, and into the joy of his Lord.

His abilities were eminently adapted for that station which the providence of God had allotted him to fill; and these were strengthened with a degree of zeal and fortitude, which rendered his perseverance both ardent and conspicuous. Taken in the aggregate, his christian graces formed a constellation, which shone with peculiar lustre in his laborious exertions for the promotion of the cause of religion, and the conversion of the heathen. By his death, the long-neglected Africans have lost a faithful minister, his brethren an active and able coadjutor, and the Methodist societies in the West Indies a burning and shining light.

But, notwithstanding the various impediments and disasters to which the church of Christ has been exposed, religion still continues to flourish in Dominica. Of the whites, indeed, but few have accepted of the offered mercy; but the colored people and blacks have attended to the things which have been spoken; and multitudes of these, we have every reason to believe, have been made wise unto salvation. In the progress of a few years, since the gospel has taken a spread through the island, many pious souls have gone into the world of spirits in the full triumph of faith; while they have invariably left behind them a greater number of living witnesses, who have been able to testify, that Jesus hath power on earth to forgive sins. Even those vacancies which have been so awfully made in his church, by the death of his ministerial servants, he has, in general, filled up with others; insomuch, that his great design has still been carried on. Persecution and temptation have been alike unavailable, in attempting to frustrate the work at large. Hitherto, amid storms and sunshine, his cause has continued to prosper; the deficiencies of one period have been more than compensated by the extraordinary out-pouring of the Holy Spirit in another; so that, on the whole, a gradual increase of the work has taken place.

Surely, we cannot better express our gratitude towards the Author of all our mercies, than by acting in conformity to his will; by persevering in that path of duty which he hath prescribed; and by endeavoring to spread his glory while we promote his cause. Nevertheless, all we can do will make infinitely inadequate returns for those signal

blessings with which he hath favored us. These, however, are the only returns which we can make in time, and we must wait the arrival of eternity to express the rest. The more complete renewal of our natures will, without doubt, prepare and qualify us for the duties and privileges of that immortal inheritance;—an inheritance in which privilege and duty will be so far the same, that gratitude and homage will constitute the chief ingredients in the felicity of heaven.

CHAP. XXX.

HISTORY OF GUADALOUPE.

Name given by Columbus, by whom it was discovered.—Situation, Extent, Topography, and Productions.—First settled by the French in 1635.—*Calamities experienced by them—They commence hostilities with the Natives.—Reduced to the last Extremities.—Happily relieved.—The Island begins to prosper, and is infested by Pirates.—Internal Dissensions retard its Prosperity.—Invaded by the English; suffers considerably, but compels them to retire.—In a State of high Prosperity in* 1755.—*Captured by our Troops in* 1759.—*Survey of its diminutive Dependencies.—Returns again to France.—Population in* 1767.—*Captured again by the English in* 1794; *and recaptured by the French.—Particulars of this recapture.—Dreadful Sickness prevailing among the British Troops.—Capitulation.—Proscription of the Royalists.—Unparalleled Cruelty of Victor Hugues towards them, and also towards some English Prisoners; and his contemptible Brutality towards the dead Body of General Dundas.—Final Capture by our Troops.—Roman Catholic Religion established in the Island.—Reflections on the Origin and Nature of Superstition; on the State of Morals in Guadaloupe; and on the universal Spread of the Gospel.*

GUADALOUPE was so named by Columbus, according to his usual custom, from the resemblance of its mountains to those of a town and district in the province of Estramadura, in Old Spain. It is situated in 16° 30′ north latitude, and 62° of longitude west from London; between Antigua and Dominica, and about 30 leagues north of Martinico. Its utmost extent is computed to be forty-five English miles; its breadth thirty-eight, and its circumference two hundred and fifty. It is divided into two parts by a small arm of the sea, or rather by a narrow channel, through which no ships can venture, though it is six miles in length.

It is only navigable for boats and vessels not exceeding fifty tons. It is called by the inhabitants *la Riviére Salé*, or Salt River. By this strait, however, the sea on the north-west coast of the island communicates with that on the south-east. The north-west part is divided into *Basseterre* and *Cabesterre*. The south-east, by way of pre-eminence, is called *Grande-terre*. It does not, however, contain more land than the former; neither is the soil so fertile, nor the atmosphere so healthy. The soil, in general, is equally prolific with that of Martinico, producing sugar, cotton, coffee, indigo, ginger, and a considerable number of hides of animals; forming, altogether, an almost incredible exportation to Europe. From this concise topographical description, we shall now proceed to a more ample narrative of its civil history, from its first settlement.

This island, neglected by the Spanish navigators after its first discovery, remained from that time in the possession of its native Indians, for nearly one hundred and fifty years; no Europeans having attempted to settle upon it. At length, between five and six hundred French, under the protection and guidance of two gentlemen, named Loline and Duplessis, embarked at Dieppe in Normandy, in a merchant-ship, and arrived safely at Guadaloupe on the 28th of June, 1635. They had been very deficient in the preparations for such an expedition. Their provisions were so ill chosen, that part of them was spoiled in the course of the voyage; and they had shipped so small a quantity, that they were all exhausted in the space of two months after they had landed. They could not procure any supplies from France; and the inhabitants of St. Christopher's, to whom they sent for relief, either from scarcity or design, refused to succour them. Thus no resource was left for these emigrants from their mother-country; and they had nothing to hope for, but what they could obtain from the savages of the island. But the superfluities of a people who cultivated but little, and had never laid up any stores, could not be considerable. The new comers, under these distressful circumstances, not content with the supplies of provisions which the Indians brought to them voluntarily, at length came to a resolution, probably dictated by extreme necessity, to make use of compulsive means; and hostilities commenced in the month of January, 1636.

The poor Charaibees, not being in a condition openly to resist an enemy who had the superior advantage of fire-arms, destroyed their own provisions and plantations, and retired,

some of them to that part which since has been called Grande-terre, and others to the neighbouring islands. The most desperate and resolute, however, returned to the parts inhabited by their invaders, and concealed themselves in the mountains and woods, where they watched their opportunities. In the day-time they sallied out, and shot with poisoned arrows, or knocked down with their clubs, all the Frenchmen whom they found dispersed and separated from the main body of their countrymen, for the necessary pursuits of hunting and fishing. In the night they burnt the houses, and destroyed the produce of the husbandry on which their invaders depended for subsistence.

A dreadful famine was the consequence of this cruel retaliation. The new colonists were obliged to graze in the fields, to eat their own excrements, and to dig up dead bodies for unnatural food. Many of these Frenchmen had been slaves at Algiers, who now cursed those whom they had formerly blessed for redeeming them from captivity; and all of them were weary of existence. Their calamitous situation was at last communicated to the Governor of Martinico, who sent a military officer, of the name of Aubert, with a detachment of regulars, and a supply of provisions and other necessaries to the unhappy sufferers. The Charaibees now submitted to this additional force brought against them; and Aubert had the satisfaction to effect, not only a peace with the savages in 1640, but an alliance which rendered it permanent, and became the basis of the French establishment, and of the future prosperity of the colony. From this period it was put under the protection of the mother-country, and new adventurers from different parts of France gradually increased its population.

In the mean time, the remembrance of past sufferings proved a powerful incitement to the survivors of the first party, to cultivate, with unremitted attention, all articles of immediate necessity. These men were but few in number; however, they were soon joined by some discontented colonists from St. Christopher's. To these were soon added, some sailors, tired of a sea-faring life, and some masters of trading vessels, who had saved sufficient sums of money to enable them to retire, and improve their fortunes, by purchasing and cultivating lands. But still the prosperity of Guadaloupe was impeded by fresh obstacles arising from its situation. Destitute of a sufficient military force for the defence of the island, and without fortifications, bands of ferocious pirates, from the neighbouring seas and islands,

committed sundry depredations on the inhabitants, attacking them by surprise, and carrying off their cattle, their slaves, and sometimes their standing crops. Intestine quarrels, proceeding from jealousy of authority, and rivalry in traffic, often disturbed the tranquillity of the planters. A considerable number of adventurers, likewise, who went over to the Windward Islands, abandoning lands which were better suited to simple agriculture, than to the growth of the prime articles of foreign commerce, removed with their property to Martinico, on account of its convenient harbors. The protection given to all commercial enterprizes, legal and illegal, but more especially to the daring pirates in the Charaibean seas, brought to that island, and to Jamaica, all the crafty agents and traders, who expected, and who were enabled by their monied property, to purchase at a low rate the spoils of these universal plunderers at sea, and on the coasts. Many of these rich traders settled at Martinico as planters. The result was, a rapid increase of its population, and the introduction of the civil and military government of France into the Leeward Islands. From this period, the French ministry at home suffered Martinico to monopolize all their care and encouragement, to the neglect of the other colonies, not so immediately under their observation and control.

To this partial preference given by the celebrated Colbert, Prime Minister to Louis XIV. must be attributed the tardy progress of Guadaloupe towards that flourishing state which it afterwards attained, from a variety of concurrent causes, and, among the rest, a more enlightened policy, and an improved knowledge of the commercial interest of the mother-country. The comparison made by the Abbé Raynal between the state of the population of the island in the years 1700, and 1755, exhibits an example of what may be effected in a colony in the course of little more than half a century, by a well-informed, active, and impartial administration at home. At the former era, the whole population consisted of no more than 3825 white people; 325 savages, free negroes, or mulattoes; and 6725 slaves, many of whom were Charaibees. Her cultures were reduced to 60 small plantations of sugar, 66 of indigo, a small quantity of cocoa, and not a great deal of cotton. The cattle amounted to 1620 horses and mules, and 3699 head of horned beasts. This was the fruit of sixty years labor, computing from the date of the alliance formed by the first French settlers with the natives, as before related, in 1640. It must, however, be remembered, that in the year 1703, the island suffered

considerably by the invasion of an English armament, consisting of a fleet of nine first and second-rate ships of war, and forty-five sail of smaller vessels, with transports conveying six thousand choice soldiers. These troops made a descent, and carried on the siege of Basseterre and Grandterre during fifty-six days; in which time, they burnt several churches, together with tobacco, indigo, and cotton mills, and destroyed the growing crops. But after the loss of upwards of two thousand men, they were obliged to raise the siege. *Voyages de Labat, tom. VI.*

But the subsequent advances to prosperity were as rapid as the preceding had been slow. At the close of the year 1755, the colony was peopled by 9,643 whites, and 41,140 slaves, including men, women, and children. Her saleable commodities were the produce of 334 sugar plantations; 15 plots of indigo; 46,840 stems of cocoa; 11,700 of tobacco; 2,257,725 of coffee; and 12,748,447 of cotton. For provisions, she had 29 squares of rice and maize; and 1,219 of potatoes, or yams; 21,028,520 banana trees; and 32,577,950 trenches of cassava. The cattle consisted of, 4,924 horses; 2,924 mules; 125 asses; 13,716 head of horned cattle; 11,162 sheep, or goats; and 2,444 hogs. Such was likewise the state of Guadaloupe, with some additional improvements, when it was conquered by our troops in the memorable year 1759. Then the fleets and armies of Britain, under the able administration of the first William Pitt, were victorious in all quarters of the globe.

The government of France felt severely the loss of one of its richest colonies in the West Indies. But the French subjects, inhabitants of the island, would have suffered much more by the retreat of the British forces, after a siege of three months (during which, their plantations were destroyed, and the buildings and machines for manufacturing their sugar, indigo, and rum, burnt down), than they did by the honorable capitulation which they obtained. By the mild treatment they experienced from their conquerors, they were enabled to set about repairing their losses, and were plentifully supplied with provisions, which must, otherwise, have failed them before the ensuing harvest; for the island surrendered in the month of April.

They likewise derived a considerable advantage, tending to the speedy restoration of the prosperity of the island, from another source. Whilst it remained in the possession of the crown of Great Britain, a new commercial intercourse was opened with the British settlements in the West Indies.

The conquered island was, through this channel, independently of the merchant-ships fitted out from the great trading sea-port towns of England, so abundantly supplied with every species of English manufactures, that the market was soon overstocked, and the price of European commodities was considerably reduced. At the same time, a prospect of peace, and of the consequent restoration of the island to France, encouraged the French planters to lay in large stores, purchased at very low prices, and on very long credit. This stock served, after the restitution by the peace of 1763, to accelerate a still more flourishing state than that of any preceding period. The English mercantile speculators had likewise purchased and imported into the island, during the four years and three months that it remained in our possession, 18,721 negro slaves from Africa, to expedite the growth of its staple commodities, and to increase the value of the plantations. In a proportional degree, they had likewise improved the plantations in the small islands dependent on Guadaloupe, and comprized both in its surrender and restoration.

Deseada, which seems to have been detached from Guadaloupe by the sea, as it is only separated from it by a narrow canal, is one of those dependencies. It is little more than a barren rock, at the foot of which is a poor soil, of no great depth, fit only for the growth of cotton of an inferior quality. Neither the time when, nor the persons by whom this spot was first inhabited, is ascertained; but it is generally believed to be of modern date.

Les Saintes are three small islands, about three leagues distant from Guadaloupe, but always subject to its jurisdiction: they form together a triangle, and have a safe harbor for ships of considerable burden. Thirty hardy Frenchmen first undertook to make a settlement on these islands in the year 1648; but they were obliged to abandon the undertaking, on account of an excessive drought, which dried up their only spring, before they had time to construct reservoirs. A second attempt was made in 1652, which was more successful; when some plantations were established, that now produce fifty thousand pounds weight of coffee, ninety thousand of cotton, a moderate quantity of tobacco, and abundance of vegetables for food, particularly manioc, potatoes, and peas. There is likewise a variety of tame and wild fowl on these islands; and the inhabitants take care to breed a great number of hogs. Parrots, turtle-doves, and most of the tropical birds, are here met with; and the

fisheries on the coast afford excellent fish. The atmosphere is pure, and constantly refreshed with sea breezes; so that the heat is never so oppressive as in Guadaloupe and Martinico. Upon the whole, these little islands offer an agreeable residence to persons who wish to retire from the bustle of large plantations; and they are not of sufficient consequence to be molested by foreign enemies. While they were under the government of France, they were placed under the direction of a Captain of the militia, deputed by the Governor of Guadaloupe; and they follow the fate of that island, without resistance, in the events of war.

No other religion but the Roman Catholic was allowed by the French. There were three monasteries supported by charitable contributions before the French Revolution. These islands are situated in 15° 57′ north latitude, and 61° 52′ west longitude from London.

The flourishing state of Guadaloupe in 1767, when a new survey was taken of it, clearly demonstrated that the planters were more than indemnified for their losses during the war; for the population had then increased to 85,376 persons, comprehending men, women, and children, freemen and slaves, whites and blacks. And in 1779 they had augmented to 86,709 souls, of whom 1,382 persons only were whites. In the next war, Great Britain was too deeply engaged in the unhappy contest with her North American colonies, to think of conquest in the West Indies. The French, therefore, remained in quiet possession of this island, where their foreign commerce increased annually; and it is remarkable, that their crops, on an average, were more abundant here than those of Martinico. The causes of this superiority, says the Abbé Raynal, are obvious. Guadaloupe employs a greater number of slaves upon its plantations than Martinico, which, being both a planting and a trading island, employs more of its negroes in the towns, and among the shipping. There were fewer children in Guadaloupe, because the fresh negroes, brought to newly-erected works, were almost all adults, or at least able to work; and the African women seldom breed till the second year after their arrival in America.

Before the peace of 1763, the French had made Guadaloupe, and all the Windward Islands, subordinate to the government of Martinico; but having observed that the prosperity of the English colonies depended, in a great degree, upon their separate administrations, a Governor and an Intendant were appointed to preside over Guadaloupe as an independent colony. These new administrations, instead

of letting the commodities of this island suffer a circuitous transportation to Europe, by way of Martinico, to the detriment of the planters, who were obliged to pay high commission-money to the exporters from Martinico, strictly prohibited all commercial intercourse between the two islands; the inhabitants of which became, by this new regulation, almost as great strangers to each other, as if the two colonies had belonged to rival powers.

France, however, was never able sufficiently to protect her West India possessions, for want of a naval force equal to that of Great Britain; neither were the fortifications of Guadaloupe, at any period, capable of long resistance against a powerful attack; though they have been considerably improved within the last thirty years. It was not, therefore, to be expected, that after the Revolution, when the majority of the inhabitants detested the authors of it, they should sacrifice their lives and property in the support of a revolutionary government, the duration of which was highly improbable in the early stages of the last war. Accordingly, the surrender of this island, after a short resistance, followed closely upon the conquest of Martinico, by Earl St. Vincent and Sir Charles Grey, in the month of March, 1794; but, unfortunately, it did not long remain in the possession of the gallant British forces which had obliged the French Governor to surrender it. A diminution of the original force destined for the expedition against Martinico, by detachments stationed to garrison the islands already conquered by their valor, left Guadaloupe, which was the last acquisition, too weakly guarded, and the want of reinforcements from England, furnished an opportunity for the French to recover the island. This they attempted with an armament sent from Rochefort for this purpose, having on board fifteen hundred regular troops, that were commanded by Victor Hugues. In addition to this unforeseen event, the yellow-fever had carried off a great number of the British soldiers, and with them their commanding officer, Major-General Dundas, the Governor of Guadaloupe. Thus circumstanced, the inhabitants applied for succour to the neighbouring British settlements; and Sir Charles Grey arrived at Guadaloupe on the 7th of June. But this was too late; the enemy having secured their shipping in the harbor, and landed their troops, who had taken *Fort Fleur d'Epee*, and the town of *Point à Petre*. The French Royalists, on this occasion, being intimidated, and thinking they should not escape being put to death, if the Republican

forces conquered the British, and they were found in arms, basely surrendered the posts they were entrusted to defend, and deserted to the enemy in the town.

But, notwithstanding this partial defection, by means of small reinforcements from St. Christopher's, the British army maintained their ground, at an encampment which they had formed on the height of Berville; in which situation they anxiously waited the arrival of powerful reinforcements from England. The camp was fixed in an advantageous position; for in addition to the commanding ground on which it stood, it was protected on one side by the sea, and on the other by a morass which was totally impassable. It was, therefore, only on one point that it could be approached.

But, notwithstanding the advantages of this position, the situation proved injurious in the highest degree. The putrid exhalations which arose from the neighbouring morass tainted the atmosphere with noxious effluvia, and brought on a dreadful pestilence, which, without a war, accomplished almost all its horrors. In addition to this, the sickly season of the year was fast approaching, which tended to aggravate the mortality that so awfully prevailed. In the month of August, the sick-list contained the majority of the camp, and the prospect appeared still more gloomy than the evils which they realized.

Situated in what, under existing circumstances, might justly be called an enemy's country, the utmost vigilance became necessary. The number of sick, of course, increased the duty of the healthy, and this increase of exertion added to the number of the sick. In the month of September, the whole army was insufficient to supply the necessary guards; the forty-third regiment could not afford more than three men to watch their frontiers, and several companies could not yield a single man.

To conceal these calamities from the enemy, and to preserve the appearance of a formidable front, the neighbouring islands were drained of troops. But these, on their arrival, had only to witness the scenes of disaster which their fellow soldiers suffered, and in which they also were soon compelled to participate. These were joined by a body of French Loyalists, who assisted in bearing the fatigues of duty in this insalubrious climate, and in partially peopling the almost desolated camp. These, also, were compelled to feel, in part, the ravages of disease, to mingle their groans with those of the dying, and to suffer at last a more inhuman fate.

Nor were these afflictions confined merely to the British troops, and their auxiliaries. The same, or similar, ravages prevailed among those of the enemy. Victor Hugues, whose inhumanity will chiefly cause him to be remembered, surveying the mortality that prevailed in his army, naturally inferred the condition of the British camp, and prepared to stalk to battle in the midst of death. But not knowing with certainty the condition and strength of those whom he was about to attack, he was compelled to resort to another expedient to recruit his weakened forces, and to supply those dreadful deficiencies which the prevailing pestilence had already made.

In an island in which two hostile armies frown upon each other we cannot expect to find much order. Its empire depends upon, perhaps, the action of an hour, which will either establish the inhabitants in affluence, or consign them to their fate. Much of this indecision prevailed, at this time, in Guadaloupe; insomuch, that the slaves and mulattoes occasionally wandered in disorder, without direction and without a guide. These men, from a long residence and a peculiarity of constitution, had been inured to the climate, and to these men Victor Hugues applied. It is needless in cases like these to inquire, whether threatenings or promises were the most successful; both, without doubt, were used; he collected a vast number; and, by application, introduced some discipline among them, as well as arms.

Thus reinforced, and thus determined, on the 26th of September he embarked a considerable body of his troops on board some vessels which had been procured for that purpose. These availed themselves of the darkness of the night; and, actually eluding the vigilance of our ships of war, made good their landing in two parties, the one at *Goyave*, and the other at *Mahault*, places which were admirably calculated to facilitate the plan of operations which they intended to pursue. Not far from Mahault some French Loyalists had been stationed, at a place called Gabarre; and to this place the Republicans immediately directed their march, with a design to surround them, and thereby cut off their retreat. The Loyalists were unable to withstand their force. There was, therefore, no time for delay. Hesitation would have been fatal. The moment that apprized them of their danger directed them to march; and it was with the utmost difficulty that they effected an escape to the camp, or rather hospital, of Berville.

The Republican forces, by thus coasting along the shores,

and landing in the rear of the British camp, had but one object to fear, but several to gain. The only thing they had to dread was a discovery by the British ships, and from this they trusted to the protection which the darkness of the night afforded, and in this they were not deceived. But having once escaped this danger, and made good their landing, they well knew that they should attack the camp in its most defenceless part, a part in which it was by no means prepared for an assault. In addition to this, by gaining some heights which lay in a commanding position, they must introduce themselves between the shipping and the camp, and, by this means, cut off all communication. This purpose effected, they well knew, that though the British troops might still be sufficiently strong to resist an assault, they must soon submit to calls of a more imperious nature, and yield to a conquest either of hunger or the sword.

Thus doubly armed with stratagem and force, the two detachments, which had landed at Goyave and Mahault, began their march. And while that party proceeded from the latter to *Gabarre*, designing to cut off the Royalists, as we have already mentioned; the other, which had landed at the former, immediately pushed forward to *Petit Bourg*. Their approaches in both places were, however, well known in the camp. The retreating Royalists had given information of the former; and a Lieut. Col. Drummond, of the forty-third regiment, with a party of half-recovering sick, and some Royalists, advanced to meet those of the Republican army who were on their march to *Petit Bourg*. The superiority of the French forces in point of number, however, forbade Col. Drummond to proceed; in consequence of which, instead of returning to the camp, which was now become almost a charnel-house, he took post at a small battery that had been erected upon the shore. Unfortunately, however, this asylum afforded them nothing more than a momentary safety, for they were soon surrounded and made prisoners of war.

The enemy, possessing themselves of this post, accomplished one great object which they had in view; namely, to cut off all communication between the shipping and the camp. From this battery, they proceeded, agreeably to their preconcerted plans, to ascend the heights, and form a junction with the other party, which had only taken a different route to accomplish the same purpose. This also both parties easily effected; so that the camp at Berville, cut off from all external aid and communication, was completely

encircled, and waited the impending attack. At this period its whole force, including both the healthy and the sick, consisted only of 250 regular troops, and about 300 royalists, who were destined to suffer indignities which human nature shudders to relate.

It was on the 29th of September that the attack commenced on this little heroic band. They sustained the conflict against an unequal foe with the most undaunted resolution for three hours, and, finally, compelled the Republicans to retreat with considerable loss. The day following they again renewed the attack, and were again repulsed. They rallied a third time to the charge, on the 4th of October, and were obliged a third time to retire. But losses with them scarcely diminished their numbers. The whole country was open to their depredations, and the inhabitants were obliged to supply the wastes of war.

Circumstanced as the British and Royalists were, their final conquest appeared inevitable, and they had little to hope from the clemency of Victor Hugues, if the camp should be carried by storm. The troops which were collecting in still greater numbers portended an awful onset. This, and the evident impossibility of opening any communication with the ships, induced General Graham to dispatch a flag of truce to the French Commissioner, offering to capitulate for themselves and the Royalists. So far as the British were concerned, the French were ready to meet them upon honorable terms; but in behalf of the Royalists they would listen to nothing. These unfortunate men, reserved for future vengeance, finding themselves proscribed, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible; and for that purpose solicited General Graham to give them leave to cut their way through the French army, or to perish in the attempt. But this request, though reasonable in itself, could not be granted. The General would have become responsible for such an action; and, as there was hardly a possibility of success, it must have terminated in the inevitable destruction of all. In addition to these circumstances, some glimmerings of hope were entertained, that an unconditional surrender might awaken compassion in the heart of the conqueror, for it was not at this time fully known that it was formed of steel. The general principles of humanity gave encouragement to hope; but the subsequent conduct of Victor Hugues defeated all their calculations of mercy, and developed the savage in a human form.

Among their different articles of capitulation, the British

were permitted to send off one covered boat. Its contents were to be held sacred, and it was to pass without any molestation. In this boat twenty-five of the Royalist officers embarked, and, finally, reached the Boyne ship of war in safety. As to the others, both officers and men, who could not possibly avail themselves of this mode of escape, they were consigned over to feel the vengeance of Republican ferocity.

The wolves and tigers, which prowl the deserts of creation in quest of prey, are urged by their appetites and impelled by hunger to their deeds. They have no reason to restrain their rage, and they know nothing of depravity and guilt. The peculiarity of their constitution and condition may therefore apologize for their cruelty, and lead us to assign causes for their actions, while we shudder at the destruction which they make. Deliberate revenge, however, seems to have been reserved for the "Lord of the creation, and the "shame"; that, banished from the nature of brutes, it might find a residence in the human breast, and form one of those permanent ingredients which should perpetuate the infamy of the human character.

Hugues and his myrmidons were no sooner in possession of the British camp, than they proceeded to that deliberate butchery, which we reflect on with horror, and relate with indignation. A guillotine was instantly erected on the spot, and within the short space of one hour the blood of fifty of the unfortunate Royalists reeked beneath the fatal axe. But this sacrifice, instead of appeasing the anger of Hugues, or of sufficiently glutting his sanguinary soul with blood, gave a keener edge to his barbarous appetite, and kindled anew his impatience for the fate of those who remained alive.

The covered boat which had carried off twenty-five, and the guillotine which had beheaded fifty, had somewhat reduced the whole number; but between two and three hundred still remained, and for these the barbarian provided a more summary mode of execution. These unfortunate men were drawn up in a line on the brink of those trenches which they had defended by their valor, if not made by their industry, and in this situation were fettered to each other as they stood. In front of these, the undisciplined negroes, that had been enrolled in the service of Victor Hugues, were drawn up in arms, and commanded to fire. An irregular volley was then discharged at the miserable victims, which, while it killed some and wounded others, left many in all probability perfectly uninjured. The dead and the dying

however prevailed, and, proving too strong for the resistance of the living in their fettered condition, dragged them like so many links of a chain into the entrenchment on the brink of which they had received the volley. In this awful condition, the *healthy*, the *sickly*, the *weak*, the *strong*, the *wounded*, the *uninjured*, the *living*, the *dying*, and the *dead*, found one promiscuous grave. The soil was instantly thrown in upon them, the trenches were filled in, and they were seen no more.

But it was not merely to the Royalists that the inhumanities of this commander were shewn. The British felt the weight of his iron hands, which barbarity had extended both to the hospital and the grave. At Petit Bourg, to which one of the Republican parties had marched soon after their landing, lay many sick and wounded British prisoners, some of whom had been taken with Col. Drummond while defending the battery on the shore. These men, in a state of captivity, had suffered afflictions, while the camp at Berville held out, which they fondly flattered themselves, on its surrender, would be ameliorated. Full of these views and expectations, they made a humble application to the barbarian for fresh provisions and medical assistance; but instead of obtaining those favors which they solicited, they found that they had only petitioned for their death. Instead of softening, at the petition of human nature in distress, their request only served to make him more relentless and obdurate. Many women and children, it has been asserted, were at this time in the hospital, but even these could obtain from the ruffian no alleviation of their distress. On the contrary, he commanded the whole to be indiscriminately murdered by the bayonet; and thus, with one stroke of unexampled inhumanity, he rid himself of their importunities, and deprived men, women, and children, of their lives. An action so atrocious is, perhaps, without a parallel in the black catalogue of human enormities. It must cover his name with infamy, and hand it down to the detestation of generations which are yet unborn.

The surrender of the camp of Berville into the hands of this unfeeling despot placed the sole dominion of Guadaloupe once more in the hands of the Republicans, except a single fortress which was yet unsubdued. This was Fort Matilda, which was commanded by General Prescott. Against this fortress Victor Hugues next directed his attention, and commenced a siege which began on the 14th of October, and continued until the 10th of December. General Prescott

defended the fortress till it was no longer tenable, with a degree of bravery of which language can communicate no adequate idea; and on the 10th of December, finding himself unable to make any further resistance with success, he abandoned it by private evacuation, as the only means of preserving his exhausted garrison from the sword.

We have already stated, that Major General Dundas had fallen a victim to the pestilence, which had devolved the command upon General Graham. General Dundas had been interred within the walls of Fort Matilda, and a monumental stone with a humble inscription had been placed over his grave. The Republicans, on entering this fortress after it had been abandoned by General Prescott, proceeded by the express command of Victor Hugues to demolish this memorial, that no traces of the name or deeds of this brave commander might remain, to refresh the memory either of friends or foes.

A generous enemy always respects the ashes of the brave, and humanity always venerates the abodes of death; but neither humanity nor generosity had a sufficient influence over the soul of Victor Hugues to induce him to act from the impulse of either. From having demolished the stone, he proceeded to demolish the body; which, though become putrid, was not actually corrupted. He gave orders to dig it from its grave; and, after having exposed the remains of the departed hero to the gaze of successful brutality, commanded it to be plunged into the river *Gallion* to be conducted to the sea. This action, of which even savages would have been ashamed, instead of procuring for him the detestation it deserved, became a subject of unnatural and ferocious triumph; it was avowed in a public proclamation, and recorded as a deed which entitled its author to renown. It tended, indeed, to give support to the reign of terror which was about to be established, and to enforce that obedience which must have originated in detestation, and in that fear which had supplanted love. Dread and apprehension must, under a government like this, fill up every vacant avenue which detestation can leave unoccupied, and compel alike the innocent and the guilty to tremble for their fate.

Nor was the conduct of this inexorable tyrant without its severities towards the peaceable inhabitants. To oppose his measures, was to be an object of private animosity; this was to be suspected of counter-revolutionary principles, and this was but a preparatory step to the guillotine. Friend could scarcely speak to friend, and even business could not

be transacted, without fear. To apologize for the accused, or to attempt to vindicate the suspected, was to be an abettor of their offences; and to be an accomplice in criminality, was but a passage to their doom. Crimes at this period scarcely admitted of any variation in degree; between innocence and guilt there could be no medium, and the sanguinary laws knew of no steps between acquittal and death. Men disposed to hunt after offences thus constituted, and thus to be punished, could never be in want of prey. The foibles of human nature must be pressed by a line which had been deprived of all its elasticity, and even infirmity must expose to vengeance.

The fate of but too many of the unfortunate inhabitants afforded an awful comment on the above reflections. A great number in all the various relations of life, and of different stations in the community, without any regard either to age, sex, or condition, were daily carried to the guillotine, and executed without any ceremony or remorse. Death was the order of the day. Ingenuity was exercised in desolating the country, in finding occasions to shed blood, and in enriching with this precious fluid the surface of the glebe. These executions were performed in view of the British prisoners, who were thus constrained to feel an aggravation of their misfortunes, in the common calamities which others were destined to undergo. They might mourn over the fate of the unhappy victims, but they were but barely removed from the evils which they deplored. The caprice of the tyrant might order them to supply the deficiency on a vacant day, that the executioner might not be deprived of work, whenever he should view them in the light of an incumbrance. To the bayonet he had already devoted some of their unhappy countrymen at *Petit Bourg;* and nothing now existed, to deter him from a repetition of the deed, but the introduction of a substitute of vengeance, which might be found in the guillotine.

Such were the cruelties practised by Victor Hugues, and such were the steps by which Guadaloupe fell into the hands of France. Assistance from England, it is true, had reached the island before the fortress of Matilda had surrendered, but it arrived too late. The enemy had gained too firm a footing to be dislodged by the forces sent, especially as the camp had been broken up, and the troops made prisoners of war. The negroes having nothing to lose, and being in general devoid of principle, are always ready to side with the strongest party. These had espoused the

Republican interest, either through hope or fear; and in addition to this, the Royalists had been buried, either alive or dead, in those trenches which were now filled up.* Nothing, therefore, remained, but to begin an invasion of the island anew, and to this the reinforcements were totally inadequate. In consequence of these circumstances, the whole possession returned to France; under the dominion of which it remained till 1810; on the 6th of February in which year, it capitulated to the British forces, under the command of Lieut. Gen. Sir George Beckwith, K. B. and Vice Admiral the Hon. A. Cochrane; the result of an attack, in which the courage and coolness of British warriors were perhaps never more conspicuously displayed.

Mr. Edwards, in his history of the late war in the West Indies, which is annexed to Vol. III. of his history of the British colonies, seems to have taken great pains to exaggerate the merit of the Royalists who acted as auxiliaries to the British troops in this island previous to its capture by the French, in October 1794. But on this point opinions considerably vary. Many of the British officers entertained doubts of their sincerity; and some have been heard to declare, since their return to England, that it was either to their duplicity or timidity, that we may hold ourselves indebted for the loss of the island. One false step frequently leads to another, in morals, politics, and war; and error produces evil as its necessary consequence.

Had these Royalists, in the early stage of the invasion, boldly withstood the attack which was made on *Fluer d' Epee*,

* Victor Hugues's having rendered himself famous by his infamy, induces us to enquire more particularly into his personal history. His parents, wrapped in obscurity and poverty, were natives of France, and at the accustomed age placed their son out as an apprentice to a hair dresser. In this capacity, after his apprenticeship had expired, he went to Guadaloupe. But this business not answering his expectation, he quitted it and commenced innkeeper at Basse-Terre. Tired with this avocation, he commenced master of a small trading vessel, which suited better with his restless disposition. Through those vicissitudes of fortune which sometimes degrade the worthy and exalt the base, he became a lieutenant in the navy of France. Revolutions, which sometimes give birth to genius, and obscurity to worth, in that of France noticed Victor Hugues for his violence and activity; so that through the influence of Robespierre he was recommended to the national assembly. To the conduct of that tyrant he felt himself strongly attached, both, probably, from interest and a congeniality of spirit. It was through his interest that, in 1794, he obtained the appointment of Commissioner at Guadaloupe, with power to direct the movements of the French army and navy. He proved himself every way the friend of Robespierre.
(See Edwards, Vol. III. p. 476.)

in all probability the enemy would not have been able to carry the fort. Defeated in their first onset, they could not have followed up their early successes against a superior force; nor could they have succeeded, so rapidly, in subduing one strong post after another, till the British forces became too much weakened to make any effectual resistance; a circumstance which, finally, threw the island into their hands. A repulse in the first instance would have enabled the British to maintain their chain of posts, and to keep up a communication with the shore. The French, under these circumstances, could have gained no ascendency in the island, neither could they have drawn the slaves to join their party. In this case, the enemy might, at least, have been held at bay, till the arrival of reinforcements from England, which would have prevented the Royalists from being sacrificed to the vengeance of Republican despotism, and have preserved the island.

But to the bad policy of intermixing those French pretended Royalists with our regular troops on this occasion; and that of others, of a doubtful character, at a later period, in the ill concerted expedition to Quiberon bay; the eyes of many are now open. Multitudes can perceive the folly of harboring several thousands of French, Brabant, and Savoyard emigrants, in the metropolis of Great Britain, where they had daily opportunities of corresponding with their countrymen in France. To these, in a certain degree, may be attributed the failure of our former endeavors, to reduce the proud Usurper of the executive power of that nation to the necessity of suing for peace; instead of exposing the imperial crown of Great Britain to the humiliating alternative of soliciting a negociation for a degrading treaty, or of continuing a ruinous war. Every Frenchman, of whatever rank or profession, fostered in Great Britain during the late war, however he might detest the Republican government, as a secret well-wisher to the cause of his native country, preserved the natural animosity of all his countrymen towards the English nation, and lamented over glorious victories and conquests.

Frenchmen, though banished from their native shores by the prevalency of faction, may detest the usurpation which they are compelled to behold; but it must be remembered that they are Frenchmen still. If attached to our interest, in an unhappy contest in which our country may be engaged with theirs, it is not an attachment to our aggrandizement,

but to the welfare of that authority which they wish to establish. Men thus exiled from their country, in times of civil commotion, resemble those who have been expelled a ship in times of mutiny; they feel solicitous for the downfall of the usurping faction, but start with horror at a deed that would destroy the vessel.

The general principles of human nature are the same in every breast. A train of public, of local, and of domestic ties, unites with that innate affection which we feel for our native spot; so that we are riveted by those pleasing fetters, which we have neither a wish nor the ability to break. Such attachments, without doubt, are implanted within our bosoms for wise and beneficent purposes some of which we are, at present, unable to comprehend. But even these may, ultimately, subserve the glory of the church in the latter days, and tend to introduce that righteousness, which, before the consummation of all things, shall cover the earth.

The Roman catholic religion, prior to the revolution, was established in this island as an appendage to the state; and this was done on so extensive a scale, as to exclude all other professions of christianity. The churches were both numerous and superb, and vied in magnificence and internal decorations, in the richness of their shrines, and the vestments of their priests, with those of some of the first cities of France. Towards the middle of the last century, Guadaloupe maintained five monasteries of religious orders; *viz.* of Jacobin Friars, Jesuits, Carmelites, Capuchins, and brethren of the order of Charity; and missionaries from these orders were continually sent out from the mother country.

On the advantages resulting from those establishments, which become visible, from the decorations, embellishments, trappings, and silver shrines which they exhibit, it is needless to animadvert. Wherever the progress of vice continues to prevail, we may rest ourselves assured, that religion has been attended with little or no success. In such cases, the passions continue lawless and unsubdued; and prove, that if they have not defeated the purposes of political intention, they have evidently defeated the designs of heaven. The external varnish of religion may, indeed, remain after the essence is exhaled, or it may manifest its lustre, to conceal the deformity which must not be seen. Perhaps it may still go farther, and dazzle with an increasing brilliancy, in proportion as it yields, to the enemies of all righteousness,

an opportunity to obtain credit for that reality which it does not possess.

There is within the human bosom an instinctive energy, which invariably prompts to action; but it wants a directing and controling power. Homage to a superior being is implanted in our nature; so that religious worship is not uncongenial to the mind of man. Impelled by energy to act without direction, its movements are not so difficult to excite as to regulate: if it cannot have true religion, it will have false; and even substitute an idol in the room of the living God. Uninfluenced by divine grace, the mind moves under habitual ignorance, and rests satisfied with those vestments which are adapted both to sincerity and disguise, without once suspecting the imposition, or attempting to detect the fraud. That which strikes upon the senses always makes the most lively impression. Imposture has availed itself of this weakness of human nature, and taught superstition to "see Gods descend and fiends infernal rise." In most cases of this kind, dogmas supply the place of argument, and an artificial sanctity encircles the awful residence of the cheat. And while it acquires veneration from that concealment which is necessary to keep alive the farce, it watches the movements of its dupes with interested vigilance, and carefully prohibits all enquiry.

Amid the tempests of a revolution, an advancement in morals is hardly to be expected; but when those principles from whence they spring have taken up an abode in the heart, though they may be shaken, they cannot easily be erased. Without looking back prior to the revolution, the present state of morals in Guadaloupe is such as might naturally be expected; vice moves in triumph, and becomes the more conspicuous from being erected on the ruins of demolished virtue. But if we look to the sudden influx of iniquity which followed the political change, it sufficiently proves, that, prior to this great event, the reign of moral virtue was rather artificial than real,—constrained by coercive laws, but not established in the heart. Force indeed may impose a momentary restraint, and curb the sallies of the ruling principles within; but it will neither weaken their energy, nor give them a new direction. Let it only relax in its exertions, either through its own weakness, or through external violence, the gates will immediately open, and vice will instantly deluge the country with a terrible inundation.

Such was the case in the island of Guadaloupe, in point of

fact; and from thence we may naturally infer the cause. No previous principles of moral excellence had been instilled into the minds of the inhabitants; and, consequently, they had no standard to which they could repair. The shocks that accompanied the revolution, were felt in all their force, and by suspending all restraint introduced that unbounded licentiousness of manners which continues to prevail.

At present, while the mother country is at war with Great Britain, we cannot be justified in indulging a hope that a door will be opened for the introduction of the gospel. For this we must wait the arrival of more fortunate circumstances, and more happy days; when national hostilities shall subside, and when the violence of animosity shall be succeeded by a peaceful calm. In this case, the proximity of those islands into which the gospel has been introduced, and in which it has been attended with such happy effects, may force the inhabitants of Guadaloupe so far to be swayed by interest, as to abandon those prejudices which now operate in their fullest extent. Interest, under these circumstances, may influence, where better principles can be of no avail; and may, eventually, lead to the introduction of the gospel, and to the establishment of it in a state of purity. But this, at present, is rather an object of our wishes than our hopes.

> "Vice is a monster of such frightful mien,
> "As to be hated, needs but to be seen."

Whether, therefore, self interest, or a better motive, shall be made the medium of illumination, if the happy effect be but produced, the result will be the same. Between unlikely means, and salutary ends, experience and observation have shewn that there is a secret connexion. Our ability or inability to trace it, is not the question. We are concerned with the event produced, and not with the manner of its production, when the means are apparently inconsistent with the end, and are such as baffle all calculation. There are adjustments in the movements of providence, which we learn from their issues, but which we want acuteness to comprehend, and which bring to pass events more unlikely than those which we thus contemplate. They form, it is true, no particular basis for calculation; but they afford a resting place for faith, and give animation to distant hope

To these intricate mediums, which we cannot trace, we

feel ourselves justified in annexing those permanent promises, which have been given us of God. By these we are assured, that righteousness shall finally cover the earth, and that all shall know God, from the least unto the greatest. These promises are permanent, though the means of their accomplishment are in many cases obscure. The ordinary means, indeed, are, the preaching of the word in its purity, and the illuminations of the Holy Spirit; but the former can be introduced through a diversity of ways, and the latter can be applied through any medium that shall be approved by God.

To these incomprehensible modes of accomplishment, and communication, and permanency of promises, we may add, that the power on which we rely is without all limits, and therefore adequate to every purpose. Nothing can resist its energy, or control its force; subordinate powers are enclosed within its extensive circle, and can only act by the divine permission. Christianity, therefore, has nothing to fear, unless God should cease to be its friend. To prevent this, his immutability and promises stand engaged; and if these fail,

> "The pillar'd firmament is rottenness,
> "And earth's base built on stubble."

If from these detached surveys we collect the parts, and connect the whole together, we shall soon obtain an assurance that our expectations are not chimerical, and devoid of all foundation. For since God has given to us his promises, which connect our expectations with the future events; and since he who has promised is immutable, and therefore cannot change; the issue becomes as permanent as the foundations of the earth. And when, in addition to this, we appeal to those facts in which we have seen the Almighty work, through means which we cannot comprehend, to accomplish his purposes, and transfer what is past to what will be hereafter, we cannot be deceived. Hence then we look forward to a period when present obstacles shall be removed, and when life and immortality shall be so completely brought to light, that the gospel shall shine in every longitude, and illuminate the earth from pole to pole.

In the meanwhile, the only alternative which lies before us is, either to persevere in the path of duty, or to act in disobedience to the will of God. The present, and, perhaps, the succeeding generation, may be swept aside before the

object of our desires shall be accomplished; but the present spreading of the gospel may be considered as an harbinger, preparatory to that eventful period, when a nation shall be born in a day. Happy, unspeakable happy, must be that æra, when the nations of the earth, now contending for empire through seas of blood, shall unite in amity and peace, and look back with astonishment on those deeds of darkness which now disgrace and desolate the world. We have only to add, at the conclusion of our observations and reflections on this important subject,—may God in infinite mercy hasten the glorious period, when earth shall thus bear some resemblance to heaven!

CHAP. XXXI.

Barbuda—Anguilla—Montserrat.

OF BARBUDA.

BEFORE we take leave of the British Leeward Islands, it is proper to give some account of the appendages to the large and flourishing colonies. Barbuda is one of them, situated about 20 miles north east of St. Christopher's. Though its dimensions are considerable, being 20 miles in length and 12 in breadth, it cultivates no one article for foreign commerce; notwithstanding the fertility of its soil, and though it has a good road for shipping. The inhabitants confine their industry to agriculture, and chiefly employ themselves in growing corn, and breeding cattle, to supply food for the neighboring islands, whose culture of provisions yields to the more profitable growth of the staple commodities for exportation to Great Britain. The territorial property is said to belong to the descendants of General Codrington, who first held it by patent from the crown. The total number of whites, people of colour, and negroes, is computed at 1500 persons.

OF ANGUILLA.

THIS is another small island belonging to British subjects, and the most northerly of their Charaibean settlements. It is a woody but fertile tract of land, about 30 miles in length, and 10 in breadth. The climate is nearly the same as Jamaica; but it is much infested with different species of serpents, on which account it is commonly called by its neighbours Snake Island. Its population is scanty; and the small number of resident inhabitants employ themselves, like those of Barbuda, in raising corn and cattle for the use of the planters in the commercial colonies, and in fishing. It is situated in 18 north latitude, and 64° west longitude from London; at the distance of about 60 miles north west of St. Christopher's.

OF MONTSERRAT.

THE discovery of this island bears the same date as that of St. Christopher's, and is equally ascribed to Columbus, who gave it the name of Montserrat from the striking similarity of its appearance to a mountain so called in Catalonia, situated at the distance of about twenty miles north west of Barcelona. The Catalonian Montserrat is celebrated by travellers for the hospitality of the monks belonging to a monastery nearly on its summit, who entertain all strangers that visit the spot, either from curiosity, or to pay their devotions to "our lady of the chapel," according to their mode of expression. In either case, the visitors are allowed to remain in the monastery three days free from all expense. That mountain is reported, but not with accuracy, to be five miles high, and ten miles in circumference. The Montserrat of the West Indies is about nine miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth, and has one mountain of superior height to the rest; but the whole island is little better than a collection of hills covered with cedar, cypress, and other forest trees; and on the declivity many odoriferous plants grow wild. A small part of the cultivated land produces sugar canes; another portion is allotted to the plantation of the cotton tree; the remainder, in a state of cultivation, is distributed in pasturage and the growth of grain and vegetables, for the use of the inhabitants. The three commercial articles, therefore, are Sugar, Rum, and Cotton; but so small is the proportion of these staple commodities, that the plantations producing them do not extend to more than 10,000 acres, or about one third of the territory, which is computed to consist of more than 30,000 acres. So unimportant indeed has this little spot appeared to geographers and historians, that scarcely any authentic information is to be found respecting its civil history.

A party of English or Irish adventurers landed on the island about the year 1632, and, according to Raynal, "were not "content with disturbing the peace of the many savages "then inhabiting it, but very soon contrived to expel them. "But not finding those advantages which they expected "from settling on it, owing to the very uneven ground, and "its being for the most part full of barren hills, it did not

" encourage them to invite more of their countrymen to join " them." Thus the population of the infant colony was but slow, and little progress was made in its establishment till towards the close of the century. About that period, however, a more enterprising and industrious spirit animated the white inhabitants; and a regular government was formed by the mother-country, subjecting the island to the superintendance and authority of the Governor General of the Leeward Islands. But the principal planters being Roman Catholics were strongly attached to the intolerant principles of that persuasion; so that in those days no encouragement was held forth for Protestants to settle among them. From the same cause, still existing, no opening at present is offered for a mission from our society; a considerable part of the people, consisting of bigoted Irish Roman Catholics, being disposed to revive the persecutions of former times. However, a small company of about twelve persons, who are under the influence of grace, are regularly met, in a private manner, once a week by one of our pious brethren of colour, capable of instructing them in the things of God.

The present government of the island consists of a President, a Council of six, and an Assembly of eight members; two for each of the four districts into which it is divided. The number of white inhabitants is computed not to exceed 1,300, nor that of the negroes 9,000, the population having been on the decline of late years. This has been owing to epidemic fevers, of which proper notice will be taken in a separate department of this work; and to other misfortunes occasioned by war, or by the elements, that from time to time have checked the progress and disappointed the hopes of the planters. Finally, There is one great obstacle to the attainment of any considerable increase of the commerce and prosperity of the inhabitants of Montserrat; which is, the difficulty of loading and unloading ships on the shores of an island which has not one good road; and whose coasts are so dangerous, that the masters of trading vessels are obliged to put out to sea, or to take shelter in some of the neighboring harbors, the instant they discover an approaching storm. Montserrat is situated in 16° 54′, north latitude, and 61° 34′, west longitude from London, and at nearly equal distances between Guadaloupe and Antigua; being about 30 miles S. W. of the latter, and N. W. of the former.

CHAP. XXXII.

HISTORY OF ANTIGUA.

Destitute of inhabitants on its discovery, and without any European Settler till 1629.—*Neglected and abandoned, because destitute of Rivers, Springs, and Wells.—First settled by the English in* 1632.—*Pillaged by the French, and reduced to wretchedness.—Colony again revived by Colonel Codrington.—Oppressed by the tyranny and injustice of Governor Park.—Character and fate of that Despot.—Situation, Advantages, Disadvantages, and extent of the Island.—Produce and Population.—Topographical Divisions.—Natural Curiosities—Observations on the Yellow Fever.—Civil Institutions, &c.*

THE first discovery of this island by Columbus afforded little or no prospect of its becoming an advantageous settlement for European adventurers; for it was found to be totally destitute of springs and rivers; and the art of preserving large quantities of rain water in cisterns was not then known. This is the principal reason assigned by the Spanish historian, for its remaining uninhabited for more than a century after Columbus had discovered it, and given it the name it still bears, in honor of St. Mary, of Antigua, to whom a church in Seville was dedicated.

In the year 1629, a small number of French planters, being molested in the enjoyment of their property in the island of St. Christopher, attempted an establishment in Antigua. This place they found totally uninhabited, the Charaibs having deserted it for want of water. On finding the same inconveniences which the Charaibs had experienced, arising from the same cause, they were induced to return again to St. Christopher's. This they did, as soon as the commotions had subsided which drove them from the island; thus leaving Antigua in its original and abandoned state. About the year 1632, some Englishmen, more enterprizing than either the French or the savages, undertook a settle-

ment; and, resorting to the expedient of preserving rain water in cisterns, employed themselves in the cultivation of tobacco. Their number in 1640 amounted to upwards of thirty families. From this period, the population gradually increased; and the most sanguine hopes were entertained, that in a few years it would become a flourishing British colony. But, unfortunately, a war between England and France encouraged the French government of Martinico, in 1666, to fit out a considerable force to invade and pillage this island. This they too successfully effected, by destroying the tobacco plantations, and carrying off all the negroe slaves employed in the cultivation of this only article of commerce, on which the inhabitants depended for support. The depredations committed by the enemy were carried to such an excess, that all further improvement was neglected; and for several years after this event, the island was reduced nearly to its original desolated condition. At length the genius and active exertions of a respectable inhabitant of Barbadoes rescued it from oblivion, and laid the foundation of its subsequent prosperity.

This patron of Antigua was Colonel Codrington. He had cultivated the sugar cane with extraordinary success in Barbadoes; and having obtained certain intelligence that the soil of Antigua was well adapted to its propagation, he became one of its resident inhabitants. He then purchased a considerable quantity of land;—sent for his family from Barbadoes, according to some authors, in the year 1674, but according to others, in 1676; and, in the course of time rendered such signal services to his country, both as a planter and as a military officer, that his name will be long remembered in the West Indies. Soon after this, he was appointed Commander in Chief and Captain General of all the British Leeward Charaibean Islands; most of them having been indebted for their flourishing condition to his patriotic zeal, and great skill in agriculture and commerce.

Most of the lands which were adapted to the growth of sugar were, under his direction, appropriated to its cultivation. The first attempts of the planters were rather unpromising and unprofitable. The sugar which they raised was of an inferior quality, being coarse in its nature, and exceedingly dark in color. In Great Britain it could find no market. Its proprietors were, therefore, compelled to dispose of it in Holland and the Hans Towns, at a price much below that for which they could afford to render it. But the genius of Codrington soon supplied the deficiencies

of nature from the resources of art, and raised crops which, in proportion to their extent, rivalled the produce of the more established colonies. This worthy Governor died in the year 1698, and was succeeded by his son, under whose prudent administration the settlement was raised to a state of considerable prosperity. Its flourishing condition soon attracted the notice of the British government, and it was viewed in England as a most important and advantageous establishment. Reports of its prosperity drew to its shores commercial adventurers from other islands, and not many had reason to complain that speculation had been deceived by hope. The industry of these new settlers was soon rewarded in an ample manner; and wealth, and an increase of population, advanced in a due proportion. From these favorable circumstances the mother country found means to derive considerable advantages. The articles which were imported increased the revenue of the kingdom; the necessaries which were required by the inhabitants for clothing, and other purposes, promoted the manufactories at home; while the people contributed their quota in military aid, when expeditions became necessary to make reprizals on our political enemies, and commercial competitors.

The accession of Queen Anne to the British throne was accompanied with a considerable change in the administration of public affairs. Political influence was felt across the Atlantic; and Codrington, in consequence of some disagreement with the new administration, resigned his official situation. With his resignation, a period was put for a season to the growing prosperity of the island. He was succeeded in office by Sir William Matthews, whose public career was too short to enable him to promote, or to permit him to counteract, those plans for the general good which his predecessors had so wisely arranged and pursued. He reached Antigua, and died soon after his arrival.

On his death, an injudicious appointment of a worthless character to succeed him involved the colony in a series of calamities. Through the interest of the Duke of Marlborough, Daniel Park, whose crimes have given to his name an infamous immortality, found means to obtain the government of these Leeward Islands. He had served under that renowned commander in Flanders, and had so far ingratiated himself, through his recommendation, into the favour of his friends, that his vices were concealed from their views, or overpowered by the blaze of that glory which crowned his illustrious patron. This man was a na-

tive of Virginia, but had fled from his country to escape justice, and taken refuge in England. Through intrigue and corruption he procured a seat in parliament, but being convicted of bribery was expelled the house. The vices which marked his private life soon compelled him to seek an asylum on the continent. Here he was introduced to the Duke, who, being captivated with his address, made him one of his aides de camp, in which capacity he served at the memorable battle of Hochstet. When victory crowned the British arms, he was sent home with the important dispatches, and permitted to have an interview with her Majesty. As a mark of her attention, she rewarded him with a thousand guineas, at her levée presented him with her picture superbly ornamented with diamonds, and readily concurred in his new appointment.

This miscreant arrived at Antigua in the summer of 1706, and was received by the council, the assembly of representatives, and the inhabitants, with every mark of distinction and respect which was thought due to his exalted station. The Assembly upon this occasion, well knowing the powerful interest by which he had been promoted, from motives of policy, voted him an annual increase of revenue to the amount of one thousand pounds, a sum which was afterwards made perpetual to his more worthy successors. But all the honors and favors so liberally conferred on this unprincipled monster made no impression on his callous heart. Lust and rapine were his predominant vices; injustice and cruelty the means of gratifying them. "The abuse of authority," says Raynal, "so common in most nations, but so rare among "the English, was the more severely felt in Antigua," as it had enjoyed every human felicity under the mild and equitable administration of its former Governors. Park, in defiance of the laws, and regardless of morality, justice, and common decency, proceeded from one degree of brutal violence to another, and nearly filled his catalogue of iniquity in the short space of four years. And, although complaints were frequently transmitted to the Queen's ministry of his tyrannical conduct, it does not appear that any notice was taken of his mal-administration until the year 1710. At this time, the repeated remonstrances of the inhabitants produced an order from home, for him to resign his office to the Lieutenant Governor, and to return to England without loss of time. But, instead of obeying the royal mandate, he continued to exercise his authority, and proceeded to fresh outrages from motives of revenge. The members of

the Council, and of the Assembly of representatives of the people, could bear his tyranny no longer. They were obliged to associate in defence of their lives, and for the security of their property; and to take up arms in order to put an end to excesses which they abhorred, and could no longer endure. Accordingly, they summoned the colonists throughout every district of the island, to repair to the town of St. John, well armed, on the morning of the 7th of December, to protect their representatives, to defend the public property, and to oppose the further progress of usurped authority. The government at this time, they contended, was actually vested by indisputable right in the Lieutenant Governor and the House of Assembly. They were, therefore, compelled to have recourse to these violent measures to resist the effects of a proclamation which Park had recently, but illegally, issued for dissolving the Assembly. The tyrant now began, too late, to find that he had roused the vengeance of a deeply injured and justly incensed people. And having fortified himself in Government house, in which he had collected the few regular soldiers he could command, as attached to his person, he began a humiliating negociation, which was terminated, on the part of the inhabitants, by a general assault. In this onset, Park was overpowered and deeply wounded; but not till after he had shot Mr. Piggot, who was one of the principal planters of the island, and a member of the Assembly. This catastrophe so highly exasperated the insurgents, that Park was dragged forth into the streets, and exposed to the ungovernable fury of the negroes, who had suffered every hardship under his oppressive government. These, according to their usual savage custom of destroying their vanquished enemies, tore him to pieces whilst yet living, and dispersed his mutilated limbs in different streets. But in this last act of merited barbarity none of the white inhabitants were concerned. On the contrary, notwithstanding the confused account given of this tragedy by some writers, it is well attested, that the whole body of the people, who had been called together for their common defence, behaved upon this melancholy occasion with the greatest decency and decorum. It is also well known, that after the Governor fell to the ground, from the wound he had received within the house, they retired from the spot, repaired instantly to the residence of the Lieut. Governor, laid down their arms, and peaceably submitted to his administration.

"The mother country," says Abbé Raynal, "more

" moved by the sacred rights of nature than jealous of her " own authority, overlooked a deed which her vigilance " ought to have prevented, but which she was too equitable " to revenge. A general amnesty was transmitted to the island, " with all possible expedition; and two of the most active " leaders of the revolt were appointed by the Queen mem- " bers of the Council under the new Governor." The same author concludes his brief relation of this extraordinary transaction, with the following political reflections. " It is " only the part of a tyrant to excite rebellion, and then to " quench it in the blood of the oppressed. Machiavelism, " which teaches princes the art of making themselves feared " and detested, directs them to stifle the victims whose " cries become importunate. Humanity prescribes to " kings, justice in legislation, mildness in administration, " lenity to prevent insurrections, and clemency to pardon " them. Religion enjoins obedience to the people; but " God, above all things, requires equity in princes. The " American islands have sometimes avenged the authority " of kings and the rights of the people upon iniquitous go- " vernors, who, by a double treachery, prostituted the " king's name to oppress a whole nation. Antigua will re- " main celebrated in history for this terrible example of " justice."

A succession of worthy governors, under the equitable administration of the house of Hanover, restored the tranquillity, and consolidated the prosperity, of this now flourishing British colony.

The central situation of the island, under the dominion of Great Britain, renders it peculiarly advantageous to the mother country, in a political point of view, independently of its commercial benefits. Its position is in latitude 17° 5′ north, and longitude 62° 5′ west from London. It is distant about 60 miles from St. Christopher's; and nearly at an equal distance from each between the islands of Guadaloupe and Dominica. It has a capacious harbor, called English Harbor, which, for many years past, has been a constant station for a squadron of British ships of war in time of hostilities, and for large fleets in time of peace. It has generally had the command of Guadaloupe, which has, more than once, surrendered without much resistance to the crown of Great Britain, and remained under its dominion till restored to France by treaties of peace.

Antigua is computed by the most accurate surveyor to be

about twenty miles in length, and nearly as much in breadth. The circumference is calculated to exceed fifty miles; and the whole to contain about 59,838 acres of land. Of these nearly two-thirds are in a cultivated state; the majority being laid out in sugar plantations, and the remainder in pasturage. A small portion only is allotted to the cultivation of tobacco plants and the cotton tree, and to the raising of the necessary articles of vegetable provisions for the inhabitants. With the latter, however, they are plentifully supplied, when the island is not afflicted by great droughts, a calamity to which it is too frequently subject. The whole island is divided into eleven districts, containing six towns, viz. St. John, Parham, Falmouth, Willoughby, Bridge Town, and St. James. These towns and districts are included in the six parishes of St. John, St. George, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Philip and St. Mary. The total amount of the white inhabitants at present is estimated at 3000, and of the negro slaves about 37,000. The chief produce of their labor for exportation to Europe is sugar, of which it is reckoned that 16,000 hogsheads are manufactured on an average annually, making a moderate allowance for bad seasons.

The face of the country, to a stranger on his first landing, does not present any extraordinary beauty, being for the most part too much covered with sterile hills, and surrounded on the coasts with rocks, which render its approach by sea rather dangerous. But some districts of the interior evince the persevering industry and spirit of improvement which distinguish the English planters, and other opulent inhabitants, from their indolent neighbors the French.

The town of St. John is agreeably situated on the declivity of a hill, except on the north side, which has been raised to a complete plain by indefatigable labour, in filling up with earth an unhealthy marsh. The streets are generally very regular; the houses spacious and well ventilated; and few instances occur of those cabins being crowded on each other, the asylum of filth and low dissipation, which disgrace most of the British West India towns. From St. John's to Falmouth and English Harbor, Antigua is seen to the greatest advantage; this journey offering the greatest contrast of mountains and vallies with the best state of cultivation. In the neighborhood of Falmouth, the country rises much. And from thence to English Harbor, and to the ridge of a ceruginous rock, the scenery is very picturesquely diversified by breaks and knolls. These are crowned with woods;—with huge masses of rock projecting into

the beautiful bay of Falmouth, and afford a pleasing view of a romantic islet and ruins. From these eminences we have a distant prospect of the shipping in English Harbor, together with the various and grotesque buildings constituting the dock-yard.

This extensive and beautiful tract is highly cultivated, and adorned with a considerable number of gardens judiciously disposed and elegantly decorated. The summit of Monkshill is, beyond all doubt, one of the healthiest spots in the West Indies; and, together with the various heights called the Ridge, about three miles further on, constitutes a strong and most salubrious post for the defence and protection of the naval arsenal at English Harbor. The houses in this tract are built of the green rock, and are prettily diversified by the contrasts which the lists, or lines, of a red mortar, separating the square stones, produce.

It is a striking singularity, that the æruginous rock and soil are not confined to this tract; they extend across the island in a line nearly north and south, and in a continuous breadth of five miles. They then pass under the sea, forming a reef or bank of equal breadth, and re-appear on the opposite shore of Montserrat. The sea under which they pass abounds with fish; but those caught, if made use of as food, impart a deadly poison to such as imprudently or ignorantly eat them.*

In the vicinity of the Ridge, in a wild sterile spot, overgrown with false *Acacia, Cactus,* and dwarfy *Psidium,* intermixed with innumerable huge masses of spar, there is a curious cavern, in which an immense quantity of beautiful petrifactions are found, besides *Stalactites;* and in many other parts of the island they are met with, detached in forms infinitely varied.

Besides the want of springs already noticed, Antigua labors under another great disadvantage; an uncommonly dry atmosphere, notwithstanding the singular irregularity of its temperature. The inhabitants, from these causes, are not unfrequently in distress for water, which they are then obliged to import from the neighboring islands at a very great expense. The effects of a deprivation of water have

* See an Essay on the malignant pestilential Fever introduced into the West Indies, &c. By Dr. Chisholm, 2 Vols. London, Printed for Mawman, 1801.

been frequently and fatally experienced; these were more particularly felt in the year 1779, when the ponds in which the cattle or stock of the plantations were watered, became dry. The importation was altogether insufficient; and every part of the surface of the earth being parched up, the stock and the slaves perished in the utmost agony; and a most fatal and malignant fever, at the same time, every where prevailing, threatened total destruction to all. When these destructive attacks of dry weather are suddenly succeeded by a profusion of rain, which generally happens once in three or five years, a very fatal epidemic remittent is the consequence. But however insalubrious such changes are, from aridity to moisture, the planters consider themselves as amply compensated, by the immense fertility which the soil acquires from the latter. The difference in the general produce of the island, occasioned by this diversity, is as 1 to 7. And such is the wonderful fecundity of the earth in many places, that if rain fall plentifully even in what is called the crop season of the year, although the former part may have been uniformly dry, still an increase of three-fold has been observed to be the produce.

The temperature of the atmosphere in Antigua is extremely irregular. In the morning it has frequently happened in dry weather, that the mercury in the thermometer has been stationary at 62° and 65°. In general it ranges from 75° to 90° in the course of the year, and, consequently, as 86° is most commonly the stationary point at noon, this gives a medium of 84°. But rain, continued only for a few hours, produces a chill, and a sensation of the coldness of an European winter, seldom otherwise experienced in the West Indies. A particular benefit, however, is derived from this extraordinary variation in the temperature of the atmosphere; for even in the most arid years, the inhabitants are supplied with a variety of vegetables and fruit. Yet the prevalent dryness of the air is the principal cause of the *glandular disease,* which in this island has gained a most alarming ascendancy. Its dangerous symptoms are, violent head achs, vertigo, palpitations, and oppression at the præcordia; and the surest remedy is a change of climate, if the patient can remove in time to another colony. But even this cure does not prevent a fresh attack on returning to Antigua.

The situation of St. John, the capital, is by no means calculated to render it the most healthy part of the island,

Yet as it is the seat of government, and the usual residence of the Governor General of all the Leeward Islands, it is, consequently, resorted to, occasionally, by many of their inhabitants. Hence it is vastly populous, though exposed to the importation of diseases from them in addition to its native malady. This was the case with respect to the fatal malignant fever that broke out first in the shipping in this harbor in 1793, from whence it spread to the town; and all descriptions of persons, and all ages, were subject to it. Dr. Chisholm has observed, that the circumstance of its occurring in all the West India Islands at periods commencing a month or two after its importation into, and general prevalence in, the port and town of St. George, Grenada, left little doubt that the fever in Antigua was in fact the pestilential fever of Grenada, commonly called the *Boulam* fever. And as this opinion is confirmed by the following testimony, it is inserted in this place as a caution to those Europeans who may have occasion to visit the islands, to be careful in their inquiries into the state of the ships on board of which they purpose to embark.

" Dr. Stephen Murray, a practitioner of considerable " eminence at Falmouth, in the vicinity of English Harbor, " and at the time Surgeon to the Ordnance on the island, " informed me (says Dr. Chisholm), that the malignant pes- " tilential fever of the year 1793 was evidently imported " from the Experiment man of war, the crew of which " received the infection at Grenada. She came into Eng- " lish Harbor in the greatest distress, in the month of " May, having lost almost all her men by it. An artificer " belonging to the ordnance, who had gone on board " and stayed all night, lay in a blanket belonging to one " of the victims to the disease. He was immediately " seized with it, and died in a few hours. The infection, " by means of this blanket, which was carried on shore " to the ordnance quarters with the wearing-apparel of " the deceased as part of his property, was communi- " cated to the whole detachment of artillery, and from " them to the 31st regiment of foot then on garrison duty. " A boat's crew of the Solebay frigate were sent on board " the Experiment to assist in working her into the harbor; " unfortunately they caught the infection, and not one of " them survived. But the death of all did not happen till " some of them had returned on board their own ship, and " communicated the disease to the crew, of whom 200

" perished. The contagion, spreading, was carried to the " town of St. John by means of the frequent intercourse " by water between the inhabitants of that place and those " of English Harbor. The most successful treatment, in " the early stage of the disease, was bleeding and plentiful " alvine evacuation. Bark was of no efficacy; on the " contrary, it was extremely injurious; and mercury could " only be recurred to when the epidemic was on the " decline."

The town of St. John upon the whole is well built, and the parish church and the government house are superb edifices. Even the houses of the negroes are far superior to those allotted them in some of the other islands; but, in general, these Africans are not so well fed as some others are. They have but a scanty allowance of provisions from their masters, especially in the dry seasons; and the numerous ponds of rain water around the town contribute by their putrid exhalations to render the residence unhealthy.

The executive and legislative authorities of Antigua resemble those of the other British colonies. They are vested in the governor, in a council consisting of twelve members, and a house of Assembly composed of twenty-five persons, who represent the people. A certain landed property in the island is necessary to confer a qualification. None but freeholders can elect them to their office.

These legislators have honorably distinguished themselves, by introducing some important amendments into the jurisprudence of the island, which have, happily, tended to meliorate the condition of the slaves. Prior to these regulations, the proceedings against this unfortunate race of men were summary, and the punishments inflicted on them, being arbitrary, bore but little proportion to the crimes of which they stood accused. Such culprits as now appear among them are entitled, by these changes, to a trial by jury; and, in case of capital conviction, are allowed a specific time between sentence and execution. The salutary effects which have resulted from these legislative institutions have been sensibly felt both by proprietors and slaves. Of the latter, the lives of thousands have been preserved from the violence of barbarous passion; against the sallies of which, interest had been found to lift an ineffectual barrier.

Regulations of a similar nature were afterward instituted in many of the other colonies; by which the severity of the criminal law was softened, in behalf of the negro slaves.

The acts which were thus established have been since ratified by the British parliament, and royal authority; by which means permanence has been given to compassion and returning justice. The struggle between humanity and unfeeling oppression was, at first, unequal and severe; but the progress of time bestowed upon the former that strength of which it deprived the latter. We have lived to behold a period which will be rendered conspicuous in the annals of posterity—a period in which, as it respects the Africans, the triumphs of humanity have been complete.

CHAP. XXXIII.

HISTORY OF ANTIGUA,

(Continued.)

Origin of the Moravians; persecuted and exiled; many settle in England, and import with them a knowledge of several manufactures.—Spread into foreign parts.—Some settle in Antigua.—Character of their Missionaries, and of the Established Clergy in the island.—Success of the Moravian mission, extracted from their own accounts.—Origin of Methodism in the West Indies.—The gospel preached by Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq. in 1760.*—Mr. Gilbert succeeded by Mr. Baxter in* 1778.*—Success of their preaching.—Mr. Baxter assisted by a Mrs. Gilbert.—Providential occurrences instanced in the case of an old Irish Emigrant and his family.—Author's first visit in* 1786.*—Prospect of success induces a general establishment of Missionaries.—Author's second visit.—Remarks on the Climate, as affecting the health of the Inhabitants.—Various successes of the Gospel.—Capture of Mr. Mc Donald, a Missionary, by the French.—Carried into Guadaloupe.—State of Morals in that Island.—Happy effects of the Gospel on the morals of the Slaves in Antigua.—Distress arising from an excessive Drought.—Death and Character of Mr. Baxter.—General Advantages of the Gospel.*

IN a civil and religious point of view, the general disposition of the proprietors and other settled inhabitants of this island gives them a right to pre-eminence of character in their public capacity, to which those of the other colonies cannot lay an equal claim. That public spirit of religious indulgence and toleration, which gave both encouragement and protection to a body of German protestants so early as 1732, has entitled them to unfading honors.

These protestants emigrated from Moravia, and sought an asylum in foreign lands. Scattered over Europe by the violence of cruel persecution, they obtained by their peaceable behaviour, and truly christian conduct, that protection and respect to which they have been so justly entitled, but which they were forbidden to enjoy in the country which gave them birth. Professing a particular system of religious faith, which marked the extravagant follies of the church of Rome with decided disapprobation, they aimed at the reformation of those to whom they imparted their doctrines. They instructed their disciples and followers to be sober, active, and industrious members of society; to be patient and resigned in their respective situations; to be obedient to their superiors; and to adorn with humility, and unassuming piety, the various relations of the Christian character.

In the different kingdoms of Europe they have, in general, been recognised by the appellation of *The United Brethren*. In England they have been known by the title of Moravians, from the Marquisate of Moravia their native country. Moravia is a province of Germany, subject to the Emperor, as sovereign of Bohemia. Olmutz is the capital; which, having an established Roman Catholic college, became at once the fountain of superstition and of persecution.

The first promulgation of the doctrines of the *Unitas Fratrum* provoked the storm, and awakened the resentment of those superstitious devotees, who began to tremble at the approaching light. Oppressed and persecuted by that intolerant communion, these inoffensive people emigrated in great numbers; and, like the Huguenots of France when exiled from their native plains by the tyrannical edicts of Louis XIV., they carried with them a variety of ingenious arts, which were either unknown, or but imperfectly practised, in those countries to which they were compelled to flee for protection. Numbers came to England under the patronage of his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland, when he commanded the British forces in Germany, during the war of 1755, and brought with them an art which we retain and exercise to the present day.

Immediately after the peace of 1763, they established a considerable carpet manufactory in Chelsea; but, on account of the exceedingly high price of provisions in the vicinity of London, they removed to Exeter, where they conducted their trade with the greatest success. In this city it is still continued; and their successors have been taught to produce

carpets which are not only in high estimation, but superior in beauty to those of Russia and Turkey.

Many of these Moravian Brethren, melting in pity over the benighted Heathens, went forth in the name of their Heavenly Master to instruct them in the things of God. In every quarter of the globe they have extended their labors; and in many places God has blessed and owned their endeavours, by giving them an abundance of souls for their hire. Their Missionaries were the first Protestant ministers of the gospel who, with a holy and disinterested zeal, directed their labors to the pious and benevolent purpose of converting the negro slaves in the West Indies. With these views they settled among them in different islands, and laid the foundation of a Christian church in Antigua. The Romish clergy, it is true, established missionaries in an early period; but, unhappily, exerting themselves to convert the slaves to form and ceremony, rather than to Jesus Christ, their endeavors proved abortive, by, finally, terminating either in superstition or in blood. The conduct of the Moravian Brethren may, probably, receive a lustre from the contrast; we may contemplate their actions in the same page; but a comparison we cannot make.

To enter into a detailed analysis of their particular opinions and injunctions, would be quite foreign to the design of this work; and to pass over their labors in perfect silence would be both uncharitable and unjust. In the island of Antigua the United Brethren live in perfect harmony and intimate connexion, not only with the established clergy of the church of England, but more especially with our Missionaries In this and in the other islands of the West Indies, they cheerfully assisted in promoting the infant work of God among the poor negroes. The arrival of a Missionary they considered as an acquisition to the cause in which they were engaged; they afforded them a kind reception, and treated them as fellow-laborers in the common vineyard of their Lord. The shades of difference which subsisted in opinions were lost in the nobler views, that they were evangelical ministers of Jesus Christ.

The success which has attended the exertions of the Moravian Brethren in the island of Antigua has been great and uninterrupted. Their journals breathe a spirit of gratitude, unmixed with the alloy of complaint. Indeed, from the earliest establishment of their Missionaries in this island, a spirit of hearing was excited in the negro slaves, which is

kept alive to the present moment. Their masters give countenance to their assemblies; and they have to reflect with pleasure that they feel no occasion to review their conduct with regret.

In 1787, the Moravians had under their care in this island five thousand four hundred and sixty-five negro slaves,* many of whom they had reason to believe were truly converted to God. Since that period their journals wear a pleasing aspect, and plainly prove that the protecting hand of God has not forsaken them. From these accounts we will make some short extracts and lay them before our readers.

In one of their Reports, published in 1790, they have the following article: "The latest accounts from Antigua "mention, that the congregation of believing negroes there, "increase not only in number but in the grace of God. In "St. John's, the number of adults and children baptized "last year was five hundred and seven. In Gracehill, two "hundred and seventeen were baptized from Easter 1788 "to Easter 1789." In 1791, they say, that "the congre- "gations of believers, both in St. John's and Gracehill, in- "creased in number and grace:" and their friends, to whom their letters were addressed, observe—"God blesses and "prospers his work among the negroes in so evident a "manner, that we join our Missionaries in rendering hum- "ble thanks and praises to him whenever we read their "letters." In their next account they relate, that "the "work of God flourishes greatly, and the negro church in "Gracehill is far too small for the constant hearers."

In 1792, their prospects and hopes were equally enlivening to the pious mind: "In Antigua," they say, "the work "of God continues to flourish and increase; and we have "reason to pray that the Lord of the harvest would himself "prepare and send forth more laborers into this great har- "vest. At the close of the year 1791, the two congrega- "tions at Gracehill and St. John's consisted of upwards of "seven thousand four hundred souls, besides a great num- "ber of new people who constantly attend public worship. "The number of Missionaries on the island was only five. "Many of the negroes return thanks to God that he has "suffered them to be brought into outward affliction, in

* I apprehend that this number comprehends all those negroes who regularly attended the preaching of the Gospel under their ministry.

" which they have been made acquainted with the gospel of " Jesus Christ their Saviour, and experienced the power of " his precious blood to save them from the dominion of sin. " These converted negroes give many striking proofs of the " operation of the Spirit of God upon their hearts."

In a subsequent Report, they speak thus: " The mission " in Antigua continues to be blessed by the Lord with an " increase in number; and, what is still more encouraging " and worthy of our thanks to him, they increase in grace, " and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus " Christ, which becomes evident in the walk and conversa- " tion of the believing negroes. From Easter 1791 to " Easter 1792, six hundred and forty were baptized in St. " John's and Gracehill. A third settlement is much wished " for by the Missionaries."

Such, in brief, were the prospects, the views, and the successes, which marked the Moravian Mission through a series of years. Their congregations are still large in the island, and their preaching of the word is still attended with much fruit. Many, through their instrumentality, have been brought from darkness to light; many have retired into their heavenly inheritance; and many remain as living witnesses that Christ hath still power on earth to forgive sins.

It must not, however, be supposed, that these Missionaries, though thus encircled by the triumphs of grace, were exempted from those trials, which, in this probationary state, are the common lot of all the people of God. Though countenanced by men in power, and blessed with success even beyond their most sanguine expectations; the vices which prevailed, the lukewarmness which in many of their converts they were obliged to witness, without being wholly able to remove, were sources of many painful feelings, and causes of humiliation before God. Nevertheless, the consolation arising from a superior conviction, that the great head of the church had owned and blessed their labors, enabled them to believe that their light afflictions, which were but for a moment, would work out for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. Supported by the promises of the gospel, they continue to this day; their enjoyments beget gratitude, and their prospects enliven their hopes. Aiming at the glory of God and the salvation of souls, instead of viewing their successes with envy, we beseech God more abundantly to bless their labors, and to make them instrumental in his hand for more good, while we wish them success in the name of the Lord.

Having thus taken a transient survey of the Moravian Missions in this island, we proceed to state the establishment and success of those Missionaries who have labored here, under the direction of the society originally established by the Reverend John Wesley.

The intercourse which, in the civilized parts of the world, subsists among the different nations of the earth, becomes frequently a medium through which virtue as well as vice are propagated without design. It was through this intercourse that the gospel was first introduced by the Methodists into the West Indies; and through which a door became open to the negroes, thousands of whom were sitting in the valley of the shadow of death.

Antigua became the primary scene of action. In this island the work began first to take root. From hence a variety of branches spread themselves into other colonies; and the event has been, that thousands have been savingly converted to God. As this island must be considered as the parent church in this Archipelago, it behoves us, in this place, to give a brief, but full, account of the manner in which the gospel was first established, together with the instruments through which it was effected. By these means we may trace the conduct of Almighty goodness, in those displays of mercy which he has so abundantly manifested towards multitudes of the swarthy inhabitants of the torrid zone.

It was sometime in the year 1760, that Nathaniel Gilbert Esq. who had heard the gospel in England, and felt something of its saving power, found himself a resident of Antigua through those vicissitudes which are incident to human life. Sensible of the deplorable condition of those with whom he was encircled, he felt in his own soul an earnest desire to warn them to flee from the wrath to come. His first efforts were made in his own house to a few who assembled on Sundays. These he exhorted; to these he pointed out their future danger; and with these he prayed. The success which crowned his exertions fully demonstrated that he was countenanced of God.

Animated with this conviction, he proceeded to enlarge his sphere of action; and, though no less a person than the Speaker of the House of Assembly, he went forth boldly, and preached the gospel to the negroes. A mode of conduct so unprecedented, in such an exalted character, soon excited surprise; surprise was followed with disapprobation, and disapprobation settled in reproach and contempt. Regardless of the insults of those, whose applauses he had not

courted, he continued to persevere, and soon saw that he had not labored in vain. From among the number who, occasionally, attended on his ministry, about two hundred were joined in society; and these manifested, by their lives and behavior, that they knew by experience in whom they had believed, and that it was not in vain.

Thus Mr. Gilbert continued to labor, without feeling an abatement of his success or ardor, till death terminated his career, and he exchanged time for eternity, and exercise for reward. To his spiritual office he left no immediate successor. His flocks, left in the wilderness without a shepherd, were compelled either to walk without the assistance of an earthly guide, or to wander into those devious paths of error in which many thousands have been undone. Some held fast the beginning of their confidence; some grew lukewarm; others grew weary in well-doing; but all severely felt their loss.

In 1778, Mr. John Baxter, a shipwright in the Royal Dock at Chatham, went to Antigua to work for his Majesty in English Harbor, contrary to the advice of his friends. Previously to this period he had been a member of Mr. Wesley's society about twelve years; and, in the character of a leader and exhorter, had, occasionally, found something to say for God. On his arrival in Antigua, being constrained by the love of God, he openly preached the gospel, and by that means collected the scattered remnants of Mr. Gilbert's labors.

"On Thursday, April 2, 1778," says Mr. Baxter, "I arrived at English Harbor. On Friday, the third, I went to St. John's, and waited on Mr. H. who received me kindly. The next day Mr. H. went with me to see our friends. The work that God began by Mr. Gilbert is still remaining. The black people have been kept together by two black women, who have continued praying, and meeting with those who attended, every night. I preached to about thirty on Saturday night. On Sunday morning to about the same number; and in the afternoon of the same day to about four or five hundred. The old standers," he observes to Mr. Wesley, "desire that I would inform you that you have many children in Antigua, whom you never saw. I hope we shall have an interest in your prayers, and that all our Christian friends will pray for us.

"Last Saturday I again visited St. John's, and preached to a fashionable company of white women, while the back

room was full of blacks, who are athirst for the gospel. On the following day I preached to a large concourse of people that filled both the house and the yard."

As Mr. Baxter was engaged in his Majesty's employ, his whole time could not be devoted to the ministry. His usual method, dictated both by necessity and choice, therefore, was, to travel to the different plantations in the evenings, where the slaves were associated on purpose to meet him at the time appointed, after the labor of the day had been dispatched. And after having exhorted them to flee from the wrath to come, and recommended them to the word of divine grace which alone was able to build them up, he returned again through those heavy dews which are so pernicious between the tropics, that he might be prepared for the labors of the ensuing day. Sundays he entirely devoted to the work of the ministry; and, though like Mr. Gilbert, his predecessor, whose scattered flock he had been endeavoring to collect, he felt himself, occasionally, the subject of reproach, a superior conviction that God both acknowledged and blessed his labors, supported him under every trial, and enabled him to lay himself out for God.

Mr. Baxter thus fully employed, and laboring both for the bread which perishes, and for that which endures unto everlasting life, after having resided in the island a little more than one year, gives the following account, both of his prospects in religion and of himself.

"We labor under great hardships in this island, as the hand of God seems to be upon us. We have had no rain for some months, therefore the ground is parched up. There have been hardly any crops these three years, so that all the proprietors of estates are nearly ruined. We have expected rain every full and change of the moon, but still the windows of heaven are shut against us. As to the poor negroes, they have not even water to drink; and having nothing allowed them to eat but a pint of horse-beans a day, their case is truly deplorable."

"But I hope their extremity is God's opportunity; for they seem ripe for the gospel. *Six hundred* of them have joined the society; and if using the means of grace be any proof, we may conclude they are in earnest. As an evidence of their sincerity, some of them come three or four miles after the labors of the day, that they may be present at eight

o'clock at night to hear the word; and on Sundays, many come seven or ten miles bare-footed to meet their classes.

"The distresses of the island, we flattered ourselves, would have constrained the legislature to appoint a day of fasting and prayer; but as they neglected it, we thought it our duty to do it among ourselves; and we appointed Friday, the 28th of May, for that purpose. It is remarkable, that while we were assembled for prayer, the Lord granted our request by sending rain in abundance. And at the same time that he was pouring out floods upon the dry ground, the times of refreshing came from his presence in such a manner, that many were constrained to cry, *my cup runs over.* Some strangers also joined us, who acknowledged the power of God.

"In several parts of the island the Lord has opened many doors for the preaching of the gospel. There are four estates on which I have leave to preach; so that I shall be obliged to alter my plan from once a week to once a fortnight."

As to himself, he observed, that "he found himself in an enemy's country, where lust and appetite held complete dominion over the general mass." A laxity in religious duties, is always either the harbinger or associate of a depravation of morals. "As to the men," observes Mr. Baxter, "it is the custom here to set no bounds to their passions. To live in such a region is rather painful, since it is difficult to keep free from censure; as most men naturally judge that all are enslaved to the same vices which they themselves indulge. As there is no family with whom I can board, as in England, I am under the necessity of keeping house; and I hire an old woman who has a husband, to look after it, to avoid those reproaches which the malignant are ever ready to bestow." Such were the observations of Mr. Baxter in the year 1779.

From this period until the year 1782, Mr. Baxter continued to labor in the same manner, and with no inconsiderable success. During the interim he married, and viewed himself as an established resident on the island. The work of God, which, in its infant state, had been subject to fluctuations, now began to acquire under his fostering care a degree of permanency, which has, uninterruptedly, continued to the present time; and against which, the gates of hell, we hope, will not be suffered to prevail. But the

state of religion at that period will, perhaps, be best expressed in Mr. Baxter's own words, in a letter addressed to Mr. Wesley, dated June 10, 1782, which runs as follows:

"I take this opportunity, by a lady from Antigua, to inform you of the state of our society. The critical situation in which we have been for some months past was very alarming, as we were expecting daily to fall into the hands of our enemies; but our God has been gracious, and has preserved us from their hands. The fatal expedition which has been but too successful against St. Kitt's, was intended for Antigua; but the enemy were driven to leeward. When that island was captured, we expected to be soon in the same situation; and every Sunday, when we met, we considered it as our last opportunity of assembling. But we are, at present, free from all apprehensions from that quarter.

"Mrs. Gilbert will write by the fleet. We have reason to thank God for sending her among us, as it proves a peculiar blessing. We are much in want of leaders. It is dangerous to let too many meet with one; for, being ignorant of the word of God, they run into many superstitions. To prevent these evils, Mrs. Gilbert and myself meet classes at all opportunities. The work cannot be said to be deep in any; but it is visible in multitudes. There is a great outward reformation among the negroes, and a desire to be thought religious. I bless God that some know in whom they have believed, and adorn the gospel. There are at St. John's church nearly thirty colored people who receive the Lord's supper, and their number increases.

"I have been so much employed in the King's service of late, that I have not had time to settle many matters as I could wish. I consult Mrs. Gilbert on all occasions. The house in which we at present meet is a life-estate of my wife; so that during her life we shall be in no distress; but I want to see a house of our own, that the work begun may be established. We have even now a prospect of building, but materials are very dear. At present we have not one white man in society besides myself; so that I am at a loss how to find Trustees for our house. I shall be glad of your direction how to proceed. As soon as this work is completed, and we can maintain a preacher, I hope some of our brethren will come to our assistance; or, if you think it expedient, I will come to Conference next year, if it be peace. I still continue to travel into the country; though I find it hard to flesh and blood to work all day, and then ride

ten miles at night, to preach. I trust that God will spare your useful life, and permit me to see you once more in the body; or preserve me to be found at your feet at that day when you shall enter into the joy of your Lord."

The house, to which the above letter alludes, was completed in 1783, and Mr. Baxter preached in it, for the first time, on the 8th of November in that year. The care of the whole society, which amounted to several hundreds, rested wholly on him and Mrs. Gilbert, together with that little assistance which they were enabled to derive from some of those pious negroes who had been converted to God.

Mrs. Gilbert was a native of England, in which country she had originally fixed her residence. Through some family connexions she drew an annuity from an estate in Antigua; which, previously to her departure from her native land, some intervening obstacles had prevented her from receiving. This obliged her to cross the ocean, and take up her abode in this island. "Had the estate," she observed, "regularly paid my annuity, I should have rested in my native clime, and quietly enjoyed those means of grace which I so highly prize; but God hath his way in the whirlwind. I did not know that he had any thing for me to do in his vineyard nor could suppose that he would use so mean an instrument. But my work was provided. Immediately on my arrival, I was called upon to supply those deficiencies which the secular affairs of Mr. Baxter rendered unavoidable.

"Meeting of classes forms but a part of the pastoral care; the negroes require much further instruction. It is not with them as with the natives of Britain's favored island. These have the bible in their hands, and can search the sacred records for themselves; but they can scarcely conceive the hunger and thirst expressed by a poor negro, when he has learned that the soul is immortal, and is under the operation of awakening influences. My house is open for all that will attend at family prayers every day; and I have one evening in every week for the public reading of the scriptures. These evenings I have large congregations both of whites and blacks. The novelty of such an institution brought, at first, many of the genteeler sort; but I have reason to believe that they are now impelled by a better motive."

That *the stars in their courses have fought against Sisera* is the language of holy writ; and that the most boisterous

elements have been made subservient to divine providence and grace, is the language of undeniable fact.

We have seen the introduction of Mr. Baxter and of Mrs. Gilbert into the island of Antigua, through a train of circumstances, which, apparently, had no connexion with the gospel of Jesus Christ. And we have seen that their introduction was made instrumental in the awakening and bringing of many souls to God, and in laying the foundation of that work which has directed thousands to the kingdom of eternal glory.

"It may be truly said," Mrs. Gilbert observes, "that the harvest is plenteous, but the laborers few;" and on this ground both her prayers and those of Mr. Baxter uniformly were, that some faithful laborers might be sent to assist them in the great work which was so evidently going on. But, though application had been repeatedly made to Mr. Wesley, the difficulties and obstacles were too powerful to be overcome. His wishes and abilities not corresponding, compelled him to relinquish what the ardor of his soul would have prompted him to promote; so that the work in Antigua continued without any other assistance than what God had been already pleased providentially to raise.

To supply these deficiencies, and to send forth more laborers into this part of God's vineyard, a most remarkable circumstance occurred. Sceptical minds may, probably, impute it to accident; but by their assumption of this right, they give the Christian, upon the same principle, an unquestionable right to impute it to divine providence. On this point let the world decide; the case itself stands as follows:

A venerable old man, a member of the Methodist society of Waterford in Ireland, who was too far advanced in life to support himself by labor, was with his wife supported by the industry of two of their sons, whom, with the rest of their children, they had brought up in the fear of the Lord. In this state of domestic poverty they had spent many years in peace; and they continued in the enjoyment of tranquillity, till the termination of the war with America, which was finally concluded in 1783. Soon after this, some persons persuaded the young men that if they went to America they would infallibly make their fortunes.

From this period they became restless and dissatisfied with their condition, and tormented themselves with the illusions of visionary grandeur which awaited them in the Western world. They earnestly solicited their parents to let

them go, and their parents as earnestly entreated them to tarry till their eyes were closed in death;—a period, which, according to the course of nature, could not be remote.

A sense of filial duty obliged them to submit to the commands of their parents; and the thought of leaving them destitute, a prey to poverty, infirmity, and age, was subdued by their natural affection. Their inclinations were, nevertheless, invincible; and, to reconcile these incongruities, they hit upon an expedient which promised to harmonize all, without opposing that imaginary wealth which tempted them to cross the seas. They made the proposal to their parents, and, finally, prevailed upon them to accompany them to this unknown region of wealth and ease.

But here a new difficulty arose. They had no money, and no friend from whom they could draw a supply. To overcome this embarrassment, the two young men entered into an engagement with the captain of a schooner, then bound to Virginia, and indented themselves to him for a term of years. By virtue of this agreement, they empowered the captain to sell them, on their arrival, for such a period as would be sufficient to satisfy him for their passage, and reimburse such expenses as he might have incurred on their account. And as the same terms were to be agreed on for their parents, who were unable to labor, these young men indented themselves, to be sold, on their arrival, for a double term of years, that the old people might go free.

The captain, instead of being an honest man, did by many abominable falsehoods so far impose upon them, that he led them into many snares, from which nothing but an Almighty hand could rescue them, and make a way for their escape. Just as they were about to embark, another of the old man's sons came, with his wife, to take a last farewell of his aged parents; but being so afflicted with the thought of seeing them no more, he felt unable to leave them; and, his wife consenting, he indented himself also, as his brothers had done before him, and they all bid adieu to their native land together.

No sooner were they at sea, than they were treated like slaves, and obliged to submit to hardships unknown, perhaps, to the poorest common sailor that ever plowed the ocean. Their voyage was dreadful in almost every form, being both long and stormy; and this, in conjunction with the indignities to which our adventurers were obliged to submit, rendered their situation deplorable to the last extreme. After combating with winds and waves for many weeks, they, however,

at last drew near to their destined port. But here a most violent storm arose, which carried away their mast and rigging, reduced them to almost a wreck, and drove them to the West Indies. Having sprung a leak, they attempted to put into St. Kitt's; but not being able to make that port, they reached or drifted, a floating miracle, into the harbor of Antigua, after having been the sport of seas and tempests for no less than thirteen weeks.

"I did not read," says Mr. Gilbert, "the distressing circumstances of this vessel in the public papers, without the feelings of humanity; but did not know, at that time, that there was any thing further in this providence.

"The vessel stayed some time for repairs, and the poor passengers came on shore; and as I was one day standing in my shop, the old man, who was then by himself, came in. I saw that he was a stranger, who appeared decent though poor. He informed me, that he was one of the passengers, and that having received intelligence that there were Methodists on the island, he wished to be directed to their preaching-house. A religious friend, at that time, coming in, we asked him many questions, and soon found an union of spirit with him; and, so far as we can penetrate, he seems to be an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile. Our opinion of him is corroborated by the character given of him, and of the behavior of his family, during their voyage, by a young gentleman who came passenger in the same ship. Neither, indeed, can the captain say any thing evil of him, though his own conduct will by no means bear the light. It pleased God, on their arrival, to open many hearts towards the whole family; so that they were soon accommodated with lodgings and every thing necessary.

"The old man spoke much to the glory of God in our love-feast on Christmas day. And while relating the disasters of their voyage, he observed, that when they were shut down in the hatchway, so that through the violence of the storm every one despaired of life, as he was silently waiting upon God, it was said in his inmost soul, *Fear not, I will bring thee to Zoar;* and, indeed, such our little island has proved to them all.

"A gentleman has joined with some ladies to pay their passage. They are now completely released from the captain, with whom, if they had proceeded, they would have found nothing but poverty and slavery; but they are now in a fair way of doing well. One of the single sons is already

stationed upon a gentleman's estate, with a salary of £60 per annum; the married son is upon another at £70 per annum; and the other son is going, through the interest of Mr. Baxter, to be employed in his Majesty's yard; and a lady of my acquaintance tells me, that she will set up the old couple in a shop.

"In the mean time, as the old man has gifts and zeal, he will be, discretionally, employed in instructing the negroes under Mr. Baxter's care; in exhorting, and in leading of classes. We look upon this as a mercy to us, as we are many in number, and, therefore, cannot but heartily welcome a laborer in the vineyard of our Lord."

The circumstances of the above little narrative occurred towards the close of the year 1783; and the letter from which the above extracts are taken, bears date in February 1784. At that period the society flourished; so that a considerable number were added to the church. The difficulties which they had to encounter were only of a common nature; the labor exceeded the laborers; the fields were white already unto harvest, but there were but few to reap them.

Through the superintendance of Mr. Baxter, the assistance of Mrs. Gilbert, and the subordinate instrumentality of the old Irish emigrant, things went on prosperously; so that they had under their care upwards of one thousand members, chiefly blacks, who were earnestly stretching forth their hands toward God. Nothing remarkable occurred from this period till the year 1786, when the author of these pages visited the island. During the interim the society gradually increased in numbers, many new places were opened, and requests were made for preaching with which Mr. Baxter could not possibly comply. Prayer-meetings and class-meetings were attended with singular benefit, and the word preached was not preached in vain. Every month brought with it an acquisition of numbers; the losses which the exclusion of members was sometimes obliged to occasion, were soon repaired by the admission of others who ornamented their profession; so that both piety and numbers conspired to give religion a degree of respectability, even in the eyes of those who knew not God.

The happy deaths which, occasionally, took place demonstrated, that those who thus passed from time into eternity had not followed a cunningly-devised fable. They knew in whom they had believed; and having the witness in themselves, they felt that Christ had power on earth to for-

give sins. And, in the triumph of faith, enabled to read their title to mansions in the skies, they could rejoice in hope of the glory of God, and look beyond the grave with a hope full of immortality.

It was in the autumn of the year 1786, that the writer of these sheets, in company with Mr. Warrener, Mr. Hammet, and Mr. Clarke, three Missionaries, sailed from Gravesend with an intention to reach Nova Scotia. But Mr. Warrener was designed by Mr. Wesley, ultimately, to go to Antigua, to assist Mr. Baxter. Of this voyage some account has been already given in the history of other islands, which it is needless in this place to repeat. It is sufficient to observe, that, "on stormy seas unnumbered toils we bore," till, satisfied that we could not reach the port of our destination, we directed our course to the West Indies, and reached Antigua on the 25th of December.

Scarcely had we landed, and were walking up the street, in the town of St. John, before we met with Mr. Baxter, then going to the chapel to perform divine service. The joy which accompanied our meeting, I shall not attempt to describe. The bosom that has been enlivened by friendship, and warmed by religion, may have some susceptibility of our mutual congratulations; and to those bosoms I now appeal. After having taken a little refreshment, we all went to our chapel together, in which I read prayers, preached, and found myself surrounded by a deeply attentive audience. After the congregation was dismissed, I administered the holy sacrament to the communicants who had assembled. In the afternoon and evening I found the congregations equally large, and composed of persons who had not only previously heard the gospel, but who, in some measure, had felt its sacred influence, occasionally, upon their hearts.

From taking a survey of the people that encircled me, I could not help remarking, that on the whole it was as clean an audience as ever I saw. The negro women were dressed in white linen gowns, petticoats, handkerchiefs, and caps; which, from their unsullied whiteness, formed, when compared with the jetty complexion of their wearers, a most singular contrast. The negro men were all dressed nearly as neatly; and discovered a degree of taste and elegance which could only be expected from men in a more exalted sphere of life.

From the time of my arrival till the 5th of January 1787, I continued to preach in the town of St. John twice every day. In the evenings the chapel was, in general, filled about

an hour before the regular time of preaching; which compelled me to begin about half an hour sooner than was usual, and sooner than we had previously purposed. In general, the ladies and gentlemen so completely filled the house, that the negroes, who contrived to build it with the little savings of their hard-earned money, were nearly shut out for want of room, except in the mornings. But, instead of viewing this as a hardship and a cause of sorrow, they bore it patiently, and rejoiced in the prosperity of the gospel.

From the town we took an excursion into the country, so that I had an opportunity of preaching, two or three times, on those estates where a door had been previously opened. The slaves seemed ripe for the gospel; and their masters, in general, from reflecting on the benefits which had resulted from preaching, instead of feeling an aversion to it, afforded it both countenance and support. The numbers which, at this time, were in society in both town and country throughout the island, amounted to nearly *two thousand*. These had been raised up through the instrumentality of Mr. Baxter, in conjunction with those subordinate means of which we have taken notice, and which God had been pleased both to provide and bless.

Our friends, who invited us to their houses, entertained us with a degree of elegance and grandeur, which appeared not only indulgent but even dangerous. There is sometimes an excess in friendship, which becomes a snare. The sunshine of prosperity may be productive of evils which adversity never knew; just as the violence of heat may, occasionally, melt what it was only designed to warm. Herein, perhaps, lies part of our danger in this country. Every thing is new, and pleasing to the senses. The charms of novelty give embellishment to real beauty; so that we have to combat with the united influence of those things which are capable of seducing the mind from God, and are under the necessity of taking to ourselves the whole Christian armour.

Soon after our arrival, I received three cards of invitation from the merchants of St. John's, to dine with Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence, who then happened to be in the island as captain of a frigate. The civilities we had received, together with the respect due to his Royal Highness, as a branch of the illustrious house of Hanover, dictated a compliance; and as a refusal might have suggested an idea of disloyalty, which our souls ab-

horred, I took with me Mr. Baxter and one of the Missionaries to the feast, withdrawing in due time from the scene of festivity. *

In this island we held for the first time an infant Conference; and saw before us a great probability that the work would soon spread into other colonies. This island was, however, at that period, our primary care; and on this spot it was fully determined that Mr. Warrener should remain. Just at this time we received a most pressing invitation from the island of St. Vincent's, to come and preach the gospel there; and, as its missionary history evinces, neither the invitation nor our compliance with it was made in vain. In the island of St. Eustatius also, which belonged to the Dutch, we were inclined to think, from various circumstances, that an opening might easily have been made; and that the gospel might there be introduced. This also we resolved to attempt through the medium of Mr. Baxter, to whom two warm letters of recommendation had been previously addressed. To Mr. Hammett, since our arrival, a letter had been sent from St. Kitt's. Dominica also held out an inviting prospect; the fields were not only white unto the harvest, but it appeared as though God had directed the waves to impel us to these shores.

May we not here pause for a moment, and contemplate the conduct of the Almighty, in introducing the gospel into these regions? The methods which he adopted are calculated to awaken in our bosoms sentiments of the most lively gratitude. The plan which he has pursued is a living comment upon his promise, that *he will bring the blind by a way that they knew not, and will lead them in paths that they have not known; that he will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight.* The accomplishment of this promise has been happily exemplified in the cases which we have surveyed; and we are taught, from what

* As a proof that the most respectable inhabitants of Antigua, even at this period, were not enemies to the gospel, the following little circumstance will decide. While we were at dinner, a respectable gentleman intimated to me, that if five hundred a year would detain me on the island, I should not leave it. I thanked him for his generous intimation; but, God be praised, I believe that so many thousands per annum would not have seduced me from what I was fully assured to be the line of duty and my sphere of usefulness in the church of Christ. As it afforded no temptation, there was no difficulty in resisting it. But it plainly demonstrated, that even in the midst of a public festival, the impressions of more serious moments were neither despised nor forgotten by some of the principal inhabitants.

he has done, to trust him where we cannot comprehend his ways.

His first step was, to incline the heart of Mr. Gilbert to hear and feel the saving influence of the gospel; and then to call him, though sustaining the dignified office of Speaker of the House of Assembly, to impart those truths to others, through which he had been made wise unto salvation. Yet amidst those displays of his power, we behold a mystery which we can neither penetrate nor deny. Mr. Gilbert's stay on earth was short. He just saw the dawnings of the fruit of his labors, and was then called to his reward.

The next instance of his providence was, to direct Mr. Baxter to this distant island, to take charge of those souls whom Mr. Gilbert had been made instrumental in calling to God, but who, on his death, were left as sheep without a shepherd.

This increasing work of grace, which spread through the colony, soon became of such a nature as was incompatible with Mr. Baxter's temporal avocations; and to supply his lack of service the great Head of the church called Mrs. Gilbert to Antigua. Under their fostering care the work so flourished as to require more assistance; and to supply this deficiency the winds and seas conducted the old Irish emigrants to the coast, though against their wills, and contrary to their destination.

An additional increase of labor still rendered more aid necessary; and the writer, with his companions, though bound to *Nova Scotia*, felt himself obliged, through the *friendly adverse* winds of heaven, to find an asylum in Antigua. This led to the establishment of a missionary;—to the introduction of the gospel into other islands,—and to the permanent establishment of an extensive spiritual church in that Archipelago, against which, we trust and believe, the gates of hell shall not be suffered to prevail.

The influence of the gospel upon the lives of the negroes, in general, through this island, was so conspicuous, even at this early period, as to render military law, which had been formerly enforced at Christmas, when several days of recreation were allowed the negroes, wholly unnecessary. The members of society formed a part of those whose lives had, evidently, been reformed; they were, indeed, the little leaven which was leavening the lump; and the light that shone in them not only formed a contrast with the darkness which others manifested, but diffused a lustre through almost every corner of the colony.

On the 24th of February 1789, I had another opportunity, in conjunction with some of the Missionaries, of visiting Antigua,—an island which seems to be the favorite of heaven. It is supposed, that Antigua contains 3000 white inhabitants and 37,000 blacks; and out of this number we found, at that time, that 2,800 were members of our society, while the Moravian Brethren had not less than 2000 members in theirs. So great a leaven is, perhaps, not known in so small a country, throughout any other part of the habitable globe.

From such a society it is natural to infer, that the congregations were both large and well behaved, which in reality was the case. That of St. John's, and one in the country which I had the pleasure of addressing, would not have disgraced even those parts of England in which we have met with the greatest success. Decency, solemnity, and attention, were not only visible, but predominant features in their general character. The life of genuine and vital Christianity beamed in the countenances of many, from that internal principle which had been planted in the heart.

The particular usefulness of Mr. Warrener, since he had been established in this island, it would be ungrateful to overlook. Mr. Baxter, it is true, had, under God, been the father of this blessed work, and in a certain sense may be said to have sown that seed which Mr. Warrener had been called to reap; but since the arrival of the latter, he had added not less than a thousand to the society; who, so far as I was capable of judging, were worthy members.

Our blessed Lord, before he quitted earth for heaven, gave to his followers a new commandment, namely, *that they should love one another;* and, perhaps, we can find but few places in which this command has been more punctually obeyed, than in the island of Antigua. In times of sickness the members of our society visit each other in their respective neighborhoods, with the most affectionate solicitude. And even in those cases where medical assistance is required by a patient who is unable to provide it, it is instantly procured without any regard to the expense. It may be said, that they love like brethren, that they are pitiful and tender-hearted, and melt in sympathy at each other's woe.

Those riots and robberies, which were viewed as preludes to insurrection and revolt, have disappeared; insomuch that those precautions which in former periods were so ne-

cessary for the preservation of order, were now become nothing more than empty and unmeaning parade. Many, who had been turbulent lions, were now become peaceable lambs; and, from a conviction of duty, endeavored to promote the interest of their masters, whom in former days they deemed it a virtue to injure. Such were some of those changes which the introduction of the gospel had wrought, through the instrumentality of two faithful men.

On the 5th of December 1790, the writer, after visiting the continent of America, and Great Britain, once more returned to Antigua, and found the work of God in a truly flourishing condition. The increase of friends had given stability to the kindness of that reception which he had formerly experienced; insomuch that he spent there four comfortable days, and found himself, on all occasions, perfectly at home.

The work of God, evidently, appeared to be deepening throughout the island, and the converted negroes gave a more scriptural account of their experience than they had been accustomed to do. And, as a proof of the peaceable demeanor which they had uniformly manifested, the conduct of their masters must be an unexceptionable witness. For so far satisfied were the planters and other respectable inhabitants, with the conduct of the Missionaries, and so conscious of the political as well as religious advantages resulting from their labors, that they supported the work by voluntary contributions and subscriptions.

Nevertheless, the last evening I preached in this place, three drunken *gentlemen*, if such they may be called without offering an insult to common sense, attacked Mr. Baxter in a most rude manner at the door of the chapel just as I had concluded. He made some reply, on which they instantly seized him; and one of them exclaimed, "I'll murder thee, Baxter, I'll murder thee." Mrs. Baxter, hearing such horrid expressions, was almost distracted; while several of the negroes, running through the streets, cried out, "Our own Mr. Baxter is murdered." Some people who were in their houses, hearing a noise, and not knowing distinctly what was the matter, imagined that it was a fire; so that the whole town was in an uproar. Two magistrates, however, with much spirit and discretion interfered: they soon reduced every thing to order; and sent word to Mr. Baxter, that if he would lodge an information against the offenders in the morning, they should be severely punished. We returned our thanks, by letter, in the most

courteous and grateful manner of which we were capable; but informed them, that we took greater pleasure in forgiving than in prosecuting; and, begging leave to drop our information, here the whole affair terminated, and we have since enjoyed perfect peace.

It was on the 8th of February 1793, that the author for the last time visited this island; and in company with those Missionaries which were established in different colonies, we began our annual Conference for these parts. In this Conference our debates were both free and full; so that we left nothing unconsidered, which we thought would be either advantageous to the work at large, or beneficial to our own souls. To accomplish these objects more fully, we examined with carefulness all the minutes of our preceding Conferences, that we might either be guided in our decisions by what had been previously adopted, or confirmed in the necessity of those changes which are inseparable from the movements of time. The business of this meeting occupied no less than five days; and we not only flattered ourselves, at that time, that much benefit would result from the regulations which we found it necessary to make; but subsequent years have confirmed us in our opinion, by fully assuring us, that we did not spend our time in vain.

By the returns which were made at this Conference from the different islands, we found that our total number of members in society amounted to six thousand five hundred and seventy souls; and out of this number two thousand four hundred and twenty resided in Antigua. Of this company in Antigua, thirty-six only were whites, one hundred and five people of color, and the rest were blacks. The blacks, indeed, through all the islands, almost uniformly make the chief part of the converts that are to be found; they are the people who, in general, pay the greatest attention to the word delivered; and the Almighty has been graciously pleased to bless it to their souls.

These negroes, throughout the various islands, had either in a greater or less degree been brought out of heathenish darkness to a knowledge of God. Their outward sins, so far as observation could reach, they had abandoned. Even the practice of polygamy itself, their besetting evil, divine grace had given them fortitude to resist; and a considerable part of them gave so clear and rational an account of their conversion, and of the influence of religion upon their hearts and lives, as was sufficient to prove it genuine, and to ani-

mate the Missionaries to still new exertions in behalf of others.

Our Conference being ended, I rode to English Harbor, where we had a small society; but it was composed of members who were no disgrace to their profession. I also preached on the estate of Sir George Thomas, in a large hall, which was filled with serious praying people. The societies, in most parts of the island, were in a flourishing condition; and, in many places, the souls of the members were much alive to God. An increase of the work was, evidently, to be expected; since the negroes were willing to hear, their masters willing to have them instructed, and the Missionaries zealous and full of solicitude for the salvation of their souls.

Not long before our arrival on the island, it had been visited with an epidemical disorder, which had carried off about fifty of the principal inhabitants, together with a great number of negroes. Mr. Pearce, one of our Missionaries, who had enjoyed a good share of health, was seized with the reigning disorder, and brought to the point of death. He had been given over by his physicians in the evening; but to their utter astonishment they found him the next day entirely out of danger. Mr. Baxter had also experienced some attacks on his constitution, which, though apparently of a transient nature, had evidently impaired his health. But genuine religion makes an ample amends for all. Here evangelical piety had raised up her head and flourished abundantly, both amongst us and among our Moravian brethren; our light afflictions, therefore, which are but for a moment, will work out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

It is, perhaps, not unworthy of remark, that the same causes which, in this island, give vigor to the vegetable world, prove, proportionably, injurious to man. So intricate and incomprehensible are the ways of Providence, that the life of man becomes a victim to those blessings which seem given to reward his toil. Whenever the planters are blessed with a large crop of sugar, they are obliged to pay for it by a great mortality, both among themselves and their slaves. The heavy and frequent rains, which are necessary for the production of a large crop, create a dampness in the air, which proves exceedingly pernicious to health, and generates here those fevers which are most inimical to life. Happy for us when we reach that blessed region, where

good shall be separated from the alloy of evil, and where the inhabitants shall no more say they are sick!

On February 15, we departed from this highly-favored spot, and from this serious and affectionate people, whom, most probably, I shall behold no more till we meet in the heavenly Jerusalem above. All the subsequent accounts are derived from the letters of the Missionaries, including the lives and deaths of several who departed this life in the triumph of faith. To recount, indeed, the lives, the experience, and happy deaths, of all those who made this glorious exit, would be a task by no means compatible with the nature of this history, even if the necessary materials could be obtained. It would, nevertheless, be equally censurable to pass over in total silence those deaths which are said to be precious in the sight of God; and, therefore, we shall here introduce an account of two, from a letter written by Mr. Baxter, May 24, 1794, and give it nearly in his own words.

"Among the happy deaths which have taken place in Antigua since you left us, I send you an account of the two following. The first is, that of *John Cory*, a mulatto slave, who was by trade a tailor. He was convinced about fifteen years ago; and from that time he left off all outward sin, and abandoned those vain amusements which are practised in this country. From that time he gave himself up to prayer, and was instrumental of much good in turning many from the error of their ways. During twelve years, he was a leader and an exhorter, and his conduct was worthy of the Christian character. With his daily labor he maintained himself, and regularly paid his owner one dollar per week. And when the business of the day was dispatched, it was his usual practice either to meet a class, or to exhort his fellow-slaves. He was a man of strict truth, was upright in his life, and deserving of that office which he so long sustained.

"About eight months before his death, he caught a cold, which brought on a consumption that terminated his life. For two months he was confined to his room; but during his sickness he was both patient and resigned. He at length departed, not only in peace, but in the full assurance of faith, leaving behind him a wife and eight children, together with a numerous train of acquaintances and spiritual friends, to bewail his loss. The respect which his usefulness excited was sufficiently proved by the lamentations at his death.

When I buried his corpse, all was as still as night; but this silence was immediately succeeded by a lamentation enough to pierce the skies. His name is still reverenced by all who knew him.

"The name of the other is Christopher Nibbs, a mulatto, who, when he died, was about thirty-six years of age. He was convinced of sin about six years ago. Before he was brought to God, he lived in all the sinful customs of the country, particularly sabbath-breaking and revelling. Upwards of five years he walked unblameably, enjoyed the light of God's countenance and was made remarkably useful in bringing many to the good ways of God by pious exhortations. He was an active and good class-leader; and without all doubt was made a blessing to many souls.

"About six months before his death, he was afflicted with a stroke of the palsy, and was reduced from a strong healthy man to a mere skeleton, losing, at the same time, the use of his limbs. This called for the exercise of patience; but in the midst of his distresses he felt resignation to the will of God. The day before he died, while lying on his bed, he begged to be turned upon his side; and in that posture he gave out three hymns, and then exhorted those around him to seek the Lord; declaring, at the same time, that he was a witness of the love of God, and that, though his body was dying, he enjoyed unspeakable happiness in his soul. He expired also in the full assurance of faith. I interred his corpse on the estate to which he belonged, and then preached to a large audience. All was solemnity. Many were much affected, and, I trust, will not forget that profitable season.

"I could send you more accounts of this kind; but we cannot see all our people when they are near their end, through the rapidity of the disorders which prevail in this country."

[*The following letter is from Mr. Warrener; and is dated Antigua, April* 2, 1796.]

"Blessed be the name of the Lord, his work goes forward in this island. Since I wrote to you last, we have established preaching upon several estates; and, I trust, the work deepens in the hearts of some. We have a revival in the country. On Easter Sunday we had a season which melted many into tears. I found my own soul much refreshed, and the people seemed all alive. Our chapel could

not contain more than one fourth part of the people that assembled, so great was the spirit of hearing that prevailed. Several persons, after public service, joined the society, and, we charitably hope, from the best of motives. We have again revived the children's meeting. They are the offspring of both French and English parents; but, though the former are professed Romanists, they do not attempt to deter their children from coming.

[*From Mr. Baxter; dated Antigua, May* 10, 1797.]

"To the President of the Leeds Conference.

"Brother Warrener, who is the bearer of this, will give you and the Conference an exact account of the work of God in Antigua. I will therefore only observe, that it appears to be spreading through the island. We are endeavoring to extricate ourselves from the debts under which we have labored. These I hope will soon be paid off, and then we shall be able to maintain three preachers.

"With regard to the visiting of new islands, I cannot but think the present time very unfavourable. Some months since, Brother Turner paid a visit to Anguilla; but the French landing on that island obliged him to take refuge in St. Bartholomew's,* which is a neutral Colony; and there he has found a society."

[*From the same, to Mr. Mather, at Leeds; dated Antigua, February* 19, 1798.]

"At present I am in good health, and as well able to travel as when I arrived here twenty years ago. Brother M'Donald, the young man sent by Dr. Coke to Antigua, was taken by a French privateer, and carried into Guadaloupe, in which place he was confined a month in prison. Being liberated from this confinement through an exchange of prisoners which took place, he was sent on board an English ship of war, in which he was treated with the utmost civility and respect; but was obliged, after he quitted that station, to pass through a variety of unpleasant vicissitudes before he reached Antigua. While in the hands of the enemy, nothing that he possessed escaped their ravages, excepting the clothes

* St. Bartholomew's is an island in the West Indies, belonging to the Swedes.

which he actually wore. Divine Providence, however, favored his escape, and he reached us in safety.

" A general council is shortly to assemble at St. Kitt's, in order to take the case of the slaves into consideration, and to establish such laws as shall render their condition less uncomfortable. May the Almighty be their guide and director in this blessed work."

Of the capture, confinement, distresses, and deliverance of Mr. M' Donald, alluded to above, he has given us an account, of which the following is the purport.

The vessel in which he took his passage sailed from Liverpool, in the autumn of 1797; and the peculiarity of their situation obliged them to spend the first sabbath on board in making warlike preparations. A French privateer, which occasionally pursued them for two days, kept them in constant readiness for an engagement; she, however declined coming to action, and was, finally, parted from them in a violent gale. The next three weeks presented nothing but an uninterrupted scene of storms and unfavorable weather; but after that time the elements became more propitious.

On the 6th of November, they found themselves within about ten leagues of Antigua, when they were attacked by another French privateer. " We made," says, Mr. M' Donald, " all the preparations in our power for receiving her. I thought it my duty, on this occasion, not to remain an idle spectator; and, therefore, commending myself to the protection of the Almighty, took my station in a place, which I judged would be most serviceable to the common cause." The enemy did not discharge a gun until she was almost within pistol shot, when she commenced an engagement which continued about an hour. The English captain being wounded in the thigh, by a four pound shot, was unable to preserve his station; but he was instantly succeeded in his command, and the action continued with unremitting vigor. The force of the English amounted to twelve guns and twenty-one men and boys, while that of the French was ten guns and *one hundred and thirty six* men, fifty of whom were marines. The French, finding themselves much superior in numbers while they were inferior in guns, formed a resolution, and made preparations for boarding. This they effected; and this decided the doubtful victory in their favor.

In the engagement the French had thirty men killed and wounded, and the English a few wounded, but no lives were lost.

Mr. M'Donald's religious books, as soon as the vessel surrendered, were instantly torn to pieces through sportive wickedness, and every thing that he possessed was taken from him, except the clothes which he had on. He was landed at Guadaloupe, and immediately cast into a loathsome prison among a number of unhappy wretches of all kinds, particularly some French negroes who lived worse than the beasts. In this place, the naked dirty floor, on which they stood, was the only bed he could obtain. From this horrible dungeon he was, however, happily released within a few days, by the kind intercession of a French nobleman, who was, at that time, himself a prisoner, but who was indulged with a lodging in the jailor's house. For Mr. M'Donald he procured the same situation, and resided with him till his removal to Basseterre. In this place he was confined in an old church, which the French had converted into a prison. His companions were mostly Englishmen. These were given up to drunkenness and swearing; he, however, preached to them, and after a while found some who seemed attentive to the word. He also found some Methodist negroes, to whom he read the bible, and with whom he found means to have some serious conversation. But no beds were allowed them; they slept upon flags or boards; and their daily allowance was one pound of coarse bread and five ounces of salt fish. His health, nevertheless, was unimpaired; the Almighty, in a remarkable manner, verifying his promise, *as thy day is, so shall thy strength be.*

After remaining in this place of confinement about three weeks, he was exchanged, with other prisoners, and put on board an English ship of war. The captain, learning that he was a Methodist preacher, treated him with the greatest kindness, and desired him to continue with him as the chaplain of his ship. This, however, being incompatible with his previous engagements, he was obliged to decline accepting; in consequence of which the captain put him on shore on the island of Dominica, from whence he got to Port Royal in Martinico. Here he found himself in a most forlorn condition, being destitute of money, of food, and of friends; surrounded by perfect strangers, most of whom were French, and without any probable method of procuring a passage to Antigua.

Oppressed with these difficulties, and encircled with these dangers, he walked through the streets, ruminating upon a train of calamities to which he saw no end, except in death and glory. But while lifting his heart to God for direction

in his critical condition, he was met by a gentleman, whom, though a perfect stranger, he had the confidence to accost; and after acquainting him with the embarrassment under which he labored, the gentleman, the Christian surely, kindly advanced him ten pounds to pursue his voyage to Antigua.

After taking a little refreshment, he sailed in a boat to St. Pierre's, a good trading town, from whence he hoped to be able to obtain a passage to the place of his destination. Here also God raised him up another friend; who, though an entire stranger, took him to his house, and gave him clean linen, an article of which he was in particular want. From St. Pierre's, he sailed in a sloop for Antigua, under convoy of an English privateer of fourteen guns. The day following they were becalmed close under Guadaloupe. The French, perceiving their situation, immediately dispatched two privateers, one of sixteen, and the other of six guns, both full of men, to take them and bring them in. Both of these the English privateer engaged; while the sloop, without arms to join in the conflict, wind to sail, or oars to effect her escape, looked on as an idle spectator. From the disproportion of the forces engaged, Mr. M'Donald fully expected, almost every minute, to fall once more into the hands of the enemy, and to be again lodged in the same jail from which he had but just been liberated. In about an hour, victory decided in favor of the English privateer; the French vessels were both obliged to retire from the combat, and to make the best of their way to port in a very shattered condition. On their arrival, more vessels were instantly sent out; but their approach was anticipated by a favorable breeze, which sprung up, wafted the English vessels from these hostile shores, and conducted them safely into the harbor of St. John's, in Antigua, on the 9th of December.

Of Guadaloupe, Mr. M'Donald says, that the inhabitants in general, who were governed by the worst principles of French democracy, appeared to be given up to all manner of wickedness;—atheists in principle, and brutes in practice;—that they had, consequently, no fear of God before their eyes; nor any other regard for man, than that which suited their private interest or beastly lusts. O that the gospel may be brought among them! For how striking and awful was the contrast between this island and Antigua, of which he gives the following picture!

"In Antigua I have met with an affectionate people, not conformed to the world. Before they received the gospel,

they were totally ignorant of God, and addicted to riot, murder, and uncleanness, in a high degree; but now these crimes are rarely heard of among them. On the contrary, on every Lord's day thousands assemble together to hear the word and praise the name of God, with joy sparkling in their eyes, and divine love influencing their hearts. Formerly these negroes went almost naked, but now they dress all in white, and form a spectacle which is indeed beautiful to behold. At Christmas we renewed our covenant with God, and found the Lord in his spiritual presence remarkably favorable to us Thanks be to his holy name, there is a revival of true godliness, the work is spreading on every side. The whites attend with much seriousness, and many blacks and colored people have been added to the society.

"At our Easter love-feast we had a special season of reviving grace. The poor blacks, who are considered by many as the outcasts of men and the refuse of human nature, were remarkably happy, and praised God with joyful lips. I was struck with astonishment at hearing them relate their experience in the knowledge and love of their heavenly Father and Redeemer."

The opinion of Mr. M'Donald on his own situation, upon a dispassionate survey of those dangers through which he had passed, and those calamities which he had been obliged to undergo, breathes a spirit of Christian intrepidity and fortitude, and justly deserves to be recorded.

"Notwithstanding," he observes, "the difficulties I met with in my voyage, I do not regret coming hither, because I am amply repaid for all my toils by a sense of God's goodness, and by being a happy witness of the revival of his work in Antigua. Young preachers are deterred from visiting these islands, and preaching the gospel to the poor blacks, by a thousand frightful chimeras which have no existence but in their own imaginations. The men of the world brave every danger, and despise all hardships, in order to acquire the riches that perish. And shall the servants of the living God be less zealous in the glorious cause of truth? Nay, be it far from them If we fall, let us fall fighting for a heavenly crown. I thank God for the good health I enjoy; our labors are close enough; but the Lord helps us through all."

Such were the sentiments and feelings of Mr. M'Donald on May 3, 1798; which was the time when the letter, from which the above extracts have been taken, bears date.

From the awful contrasts which he has marked between Guadaloupe and Antigua, we may learn to form some estimate of the gospel of Christ. In its influence upon the morals of multitudes who were not members of our society, we behold an effect which cannot with justice be attributed to any other cause. And we observe with pleasure, without using any hyperbolical language, that in the island of Antigua, it both fed the hungry and clothed the naked, by subduing those turbulent passions, which in every age and country are the parents of excess and misery. Thus godliness is profitable to all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

Nor were those happy prospects, which Mr. M'Donald both anticipated and described in 1798, less pleasing either in possession or perspective in 1802; as the following letter from Mr. *John Burkenhead,* dated May the 9th of that year, will fully evince.

"I bless God," he observes, "I have enjoyed a good state of health since I came hither, and have been enabled to travel through the island, though our labor is very hard. I have to preach ten or eleven times a week, besides the meeting of five classes. We want more help. We have bought land to build a new chapel at Param-town. Mr. Baxter says, the work was never before in so good a state in Antigua. We travel together in peace and harmony. Our congregations are so large, that hundreds are obliged to stand out of doors. On Easter Sunday, the congregation was supposed to be about *four thousand.* While I was preaching from John, xx. 15. many experienced that the Lord was risen indeed. The work in this island is rational and spiritual, and the experience of the people is both sound and good, like that of our friends in England.

"We have added, within these eighteen months, eight hundred new members; and more are joining every day. We scarcely ever preach but some are convinced, and others set at liberty. Sometimes the power of God descends upon the congregation in a wonderful manner. The people fall down and lie as if they were dead, till the Lord bids them arise; and then they praise him with joyful lips. The white people crowd our chapel, and many of them have joined our society. Our prayer-meetings have been much blessed. There is such a spirit of hearing as I never saw before. I believe the Lord is about to do a great work in the earth. May he hasten that happy period when all flesh shall see his salvation."

In June 1803, Mr. Baxter repeats in miniature what the preceding letter has detailed more at large. I bless God," he says, " that he gives me health, and I desire as a token of gratitude to use it to his glory. I thank him also, that the work is going on here steadily, and I hope is deepened as well as extended." In July of the same year, he again repeats, " I bless God the work is not declining with us, although we have lost many of our people by death. I buried a woman, young of years, last night, who died in childbed in the full assurance of faith."

That a body of men and women so large as that which composed the Methodist societies in Antigua, and other parts of the West Indies, taken chiefly from a savage state, and a state of slavery, should contain some unworthy members, is at all times rather a matter of expectation than doubt. Mere human nature is universally corrupt. Even civilization has been found wholly insufficient to impose restraints upon the sallies of our passions; and the very institution of human laws demonstrates that prior necessity which called them into existence. The milder beams of mercy, which shine through the gospel, and thaw the ferocity of the heart, are, while they meliorate the condition of the soul, far from giving countenance to anarchy even in the mind of man. The gospel has its precepts as well as charms. " Or- " der is Heaven's first law." So that discipline seems incorporated with every branch of the œconomy of God.

But if discipline and order are so necessary, even where the light of science is diffused, and where civilization has attained its greatest perfection, how much more must their necessity appear among the untutored Heathen? Instability, both in profession and action, unhappily is too closely allied to the human character; insomuch that from the motley features which the picture presents, an unvarying adherence to established measures becomes a necessary guardian of virtue.

Impressed with these and similar truths, the Committee in London, on whom, with the General Superintendant, the care of the Missions devolved, published, on the 10th of February 1804, a circular letter, which was immediately forwarded to the different Missionaries in Wales, in Ireland, and in the West Indies. The purport of this letter was, to request each Missionary " to be particularly exact in his " statement of those various occurrences which might offer " themselves to his notice; and to keep a regular journal

" of his proceedings, together with all the particulars of " his Mission." In addition to this, it was recommended, that " a record might be kept of all remarkable conversions, " extraordinary experiences, and happy deaths, of any indi- " viduals in their respective spheres of action."

In another branch they express themselves thus: " Upon " this occasion it may not be amiss to drop a hint to our " Missionaries, upon the importance of an exact observ- " ance of the Methodist discipline, which seems to have " been formed under the immediate direction of divine " Providence, and is altogether suited to the state of Christ- " ian society. A due observance of the life and coversa- " tion of private members, and a full determination to hold " no communion with those who walk disorderly, let their " situations or circumstances be what they may, will have a " great tendency to promote vital godliness, and to render " our societies a savor of life unto life."

Satisfied with the justness of the above remarks, and with the reasonableness of the requests which the circular letter contained, Mr. Baxter proceeded to form a regular estimate of the work of God in Antigua; and in the month of June in the same year addressed to the Committee the following letter:

" Antigua, June 12, 1804.

" I shall give the Committee all the information I can respecting the spiritual state of the mission in this island. The number in society was large; but we have been obliged to exclude many, who ran well for years, for forming improper connexions. With regard to the rising generation, although we have a pleasing prospect concerning many who bid fair for leading virtuous lives, I fear that not a few will fall a prey to this vice, which is very prevalent in this country.

" But, notwithstanding many evils which remain, I can say with truth, that a wonderful change for the better has taken place within these twenty-six years. We have, at present, many young women in our societies, who are an ornament to their profession, and who in their behavior manifest great purity of manners. And many of the aged prove that they have held fast the beginning of their confidence firmly to the end. I believe we shall now have a sifting time, as we are determined to pay a strict regard to discipline.

" As we have not an opportunity of visiting all our people when sick, because they are at a considerable distance

from us, except when we visit the estates in turn; and as we have no intelligent persons to give us just information concerning them, we cannot present you with accounts of their experience free from all defect. I shall, however, endeavor to write what I think on this head will be worthy of notice. "On Tuesday, April 16th, our sister Euphemæ Chapman was buried; a young white woman, who had been a member of our society two years. She had been much enlightened and greatly affected under the preaching of the word, and gave up the vanities of the world in the prime of life. She had many trials, but bore them all with invincible patience. Six months before her death she caught a violent cold, and lost the use of her limbs. She bore her afflictions with fortitude and resignation, and departed this life in hope of a resurrection to a better.

"The day following, I rode to Athol's estate, to bury the remains of John Quash Gilbert. He had been a member of the first Methodist society in Antigua, and was a seal of Mr. Gilbert's ministry. He had been a member of our society thirty-three years, and walked soberly and uprightly as became the gospel. He was a faithful and trusty servant, a good husband, and a loving father. Having been deaf for some years, he could not converse much, but he always attended the means of grace; and though ninety years old when he died, he labored for his master till within a fortnight of his death. In his last illness, he observed to his wife, *I have not much to say; but my great Master is preparing a place for me, and is going to take me unto himself.* He left issue six children, forty-four grand-children, and four great-grand-children. He had buried one son and thirteen grand-children. He requested to be interred among his children, with which request his acquaintances most willingly complied, though they had seven miles to carry his corpse. His body was followed by his family and many friends. I preached a funeral sermon on the occasion, which, I hope, was of some service to the living.

"You desire we would give you an account of our local preachers. In order that you may form a proper judgment of them, you must observe, that we have but few white men, not more than six, in the society, and only one of these is a local preacher. And we have but one free man of color, who is willing to be reproached for the sake of Christ. We have, indeed, very few colored men that are free in all our societies, though we have many free women. Some of these colored women have good gifts in prayer, and

hold prayer-meetings; but the free men, in general, have no relish for religion. We have a few men who are slaves, that exhort and meet classes, but their gifts are very small; neither will the laws of the country permit them to be more extensively useful. Our numbers are as follow: whites, twenty-two, blacks and colored, three thousand five hundred and sixteen. Many have died this year; I believe, not less than three hundred.

"I bless God, that I and my colleagues labor together in love. In point of health I am as well, at present, as when I left England; but I had two severe attacks of the fever last year, and I feel the infirmities of old age advancing upon me."

On the state of the island, considered in a natural light, the same writer makes the following observations, about two days after the preceding letter was written:

"We are likely to suffer great distress on account of the dry weather. We have had scarcely any rain for five months, and it is with difficulty we can get any water to drink. I am obliged to ride three miles to get water for my horse; and I fear in another month we shall have none either for man or beast, excepting what may be brought to us from other islands.

"We kept a day of prayer on the 6th of June, and the Lord answered us in some degree. We had that night and the next day, a few showers in St. John's and some other parts of the island. But there is still great distress; and if God send us not a speedy relief, we shall be exposed to famine. But should even our request be granted, and should the earth be watered with the dew of heaven, there is much reason to apprehend that it will bring on fatal fevers and bowel complaints, so that the island will be sown with human flesh.

"The poverty which dry weather brings with it upon the negroes is very great and truly distressing; for the produce of their grounds is their chief support in many places. And in addition to this, as the island, in such seasons, produces no crop, their owners are less able to help them.

"In the year 1802, we built a chapel in a small town seven miles from St. John's, which has involved us in debt; but it answers a valuable end, as by this means we can collect the people thither for the space of four miles round, and have an opportunity of knowing their conduct. A

preacher resides in that town; but he travels with his brethren the other preachers to different places on Sundays, according to a regular plan. On week nights we visit the estates. The preachers in the West Indies do not eat the bread of idleness. Baptizing infants, visiting the sick, burying the dead, and preaching, keep us constantly employed."

In April 1805, another letter from Mr. Baxter states the island to have been in a flourishing condition, so far as it applied to the progress of religion, and the things of God. The congregations continued large, and consisted chiefly of attentive and serious hearers. No complaints were made, that the members of the society were growing weary in well doing, or turning back again to the beggarly elements of the world. On the contrary, the ordinances of God were found by multitudes to be spirit and life to their souls.

"Last Sunday being Easter-day," says Mr. Baxter, "we had large congregations, and many found it a refreshing season at the Lord's supper. A fortnight since, I buried Mary Arnold, who died in the full triumph of faith. I bless God, I enjoy better health, at present, than when I left England."

But though Mr. Baxter thus expressed himself with regard to his health in the preceding passage, time had planted his furrows upon his brow, and death was at that instant entrenching himself to prepare his last assault. Unfortunately for this part of the church of God (according to the superficial judgments of mortals), the period of his valuable life was drawing to a close; his day of probation was nearly completed; and he was about to exchange the afflictions of time for the rewards of eternity.

It is, nevertheless, the duty of Christians not to sorrow as men without hope, since the same Divine Power that has hitherto supported his church, can provide such instruments as he may deem expedient to accomplish any branches of his work. The death of Stephen was succeeded by the conversion of Saul of Tarsus; so that the infant church found an able advocate in that very man who had used every exertion to accomplish its extirpation;—to afflict and persecute its members;—and to conduct the living to the dead. It was thus also, that when the Almighty planted his infant church in Antigua, through the instrumentality of Mr. Gilbert, the

same hand that took him from the island conducted Mr. Baxter across the Atlantic to supply his place. In all these cases we see much reason to trust in that wisdom which is incomprehensible because it is infinite, and which has a claim upon our confidence because it cannot err.

It was on the 13th of November 1805, that the following letter, giving an account of the melancholy event, was written by Mr. Thomas Pattison, then a Missionary in Antigua.

To Dr. Coke.

" Rev. Sir,

" I take the earliest opportunity of informing you, that our friend, Mr. John Baxter, departed this life of trouble for a better on the 9th instant, to the great grief of his acquaintance, and loss to the church of God.

" On the 7th of last month, he was a little indisposed, but preached on the following evening. On the 10th, hearing that he was poorly, I went to the town to see him, and found on my arrival that he had been a little feverish through the day, but that the fever had, apparently, left him, and that he did not appear to be in much danger. On Sunday, the 13th, he was very ill through the return of the fever, which was accompanied with a difficulty of breathing. From the 14th to the 17th I remained in town with him, and he was so much better as to be able to ride out on horseback. He then went into the country for the change of air; but the fever returned, and he grew worse every day. I did not see him again until Nov. 6, when there was visibly a great change in his appearance; and from his speech I concluded, that he could not be long for this world. He expressed a desire to preach another sermon, but was perfectly resigned to the will of God; the next day he proposed returning home; and brother Johnston procured a whiskey, and brought him to town.

In the afternoon of the same day I paid him a visit, and found that he thought himself better. This, however, was only a delusion, incident to the disease. It seemed to me, that the change of place, his coming to his own house, and his associating with his old friends, were the causes of those pleasing symptoms, which we found to be but too transient. I now prayed with him, and, particularly requesting that he might be resigned to the will of God if his sickness should end in death, was answered with a hearty Amen. I do not, however, think that he imagined his approaching dissolution

to be so near as it really was; and from the same persuasion I took a temporary leave. The next evening the doctor pronounced him dying, and Mr. Baxter's friends wrote immediately to inform me of it; but the note did not come to hand until next morning. I then hastened to town; but on my arrival I found that his spirit had just taken its flight to the world above. They informed me, that he appeared to be dying all night, though he remained sensible, but had lost his speech. He endeavored to say something about Dr. Coke, but it could not be distinctly understood.

"His remains were laid in the chapel, and the service of the day (it being Sunday) was performed by brother Johnston and myself. At one o'clock he was conveyed to the church-yard, attended by a concourse of people from all parts of the island. I purpose to write to you more particularly when I shall have a little more leisure. Brother Johnston has been so nigh unto death, as to be given up by the doctor; but the Lord has restored him, and he is now laboring again, and unites with me in kind respects to yourself and the Committee."

Such were the final days and hours of Mr. Baxter, before he took his departure from time, to inherit the felicities of a world of spirits! To delineate his character in its various branches would lead us into a digression, for which not even the advantages resulting from its perusal would be a sufficient apology. And yet that respect which is ever due to the memory of a departed friend, and to one who has been so conspicuously useful in the church of Christ, as Mr. Baxter was, demands a tribute of remembrance, which the social feelings and the religious affections must approve, though the frigid rules of criticism may both censure and condemn its appearance.

In the minutes of the Methodist Conference for the year 1806, he has been justly pointed out as "a holy, zealous, and "useful man of God." And, perhaps, in the narrow limits which on this article we prescribe to ourselves, we can hardly depict his character in more appropriate language, than that in which it is there expressed:

"When a leader of class in Chatham, he was very strongly, "and, in all probability, divinely inclined to go over to An- "tigua in the West Indies; and in opposition to all the "remonstrances of his friends actually sailed for that island. "On his arrival he found a small society of negroes which "had been raised by the late Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq.

" Speaker of the House of Assembly of that island, who " had been converted to God among the Methodists in " England. This little society Mr. Baxter took under his " care; and though his labors as a shipwright were very " great, he sacrificed not only his sleep, but in many instances " his health also, in promoting this work. Under his pious " exertions and fostering care, the society increased consi- " derably; and when Dr. Coke landed at Antigua, in 1786, " he immediately united both his flock and himself to the " general work. And though, at this time, he was allowed " £400 per annum currency, by the government, as under " storekeeper at English Harbor, he voluntarily sacrificed " the whole, and became from that time to the period of " his death a West India Missionary; and actually resided " in the islands during the whole time, except one year " which he spent in England. He was greatly beloved by " the negroes, and loved them in an equal degree, and went " to glory from among them in the full triumph of faith."

Of his indefatigable labors and extensive usefulness these pages bear an ample testimony; and the effects that have resulted from that holy zeal which he manifested, will be both felt and remembered in Antigua, when the present generation of men shall be swept aside. Through his instrumentality, multitudes who are living have been taught to rejoice in the mercies of God through Jesus Christ; and multitudes, without all doubt, have landed safely in Abraham's bosom, who will praise God for ever for sending him among them. And if spirits are capable of recognizing each other before the resurrection takes place, (of the truth of which I have not the shadow of a doubt,) inconceivably joyful must be his meeting, on the heavenly shores, with those spiritual children whom God had been pleased to give him. On the whole, we cannot but survey him as one of those, who have turned many to righteousness, and who shall shine in the kingdom of our heavenly Father, as a star of no inconsiderable magnitude for ever and ever.

By our last returns from Antigua, after the exercise of strict discipline, through which many improper members were excluded, we find the whole number inferior to the statement which was given by Mr. Baxter on a former occasion. This decrease may be attributed to a combination of causes. The exercise of strict discipline, which we have already stated, has occasioned a sifting among lukewarm professors, which may be considered as one very productive cause. Another is, that many have grown weary of well-

doing, and have gone back to walk again in the ways of sin. But in addition to this, the ravages of death have called many more to their final homes, and left a temporary vacancy in the church of God. Even the death of Mr. Baxter may be considered as a remote cause of the declension of a few; while the temporary derangement which it occasioned produced some partial evils, which time only can remove under the providence and grace of God.

But, nevertheless, after the joint action of these causes, the number of members in this island is far from being contemptible. We have, at this period, no less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety, whom we are not ashamed to call Methodists; and who, we have reason to believe, fill up their relative situations in a manner that does honor to their profession. These have been called from the grossest darkness into the glorious light of the gospel, and now bid fair for the kingdom of God. And when, to these, we add the numbers who have already departed this life in the full assurance of faith, we cannot avoid exclaiming with gratitude,—*what has God wrought!*

The expenses and troubles which have been connected with this work, though great in themselves, are trifles of no weight, when compared with those benefits which have resulted to thousands even in this island alone. The comparative estimate between the value of a single soul, and any given portion of property which might be expended in procuring it happiness that can never end, surpasses all human comprehension. And if so, the felicity of thousands, which, so far as human means have been used, has been procured by the expenditure of only a comparatively small sum of money, appears in a light which the awakened soul must feel, but which the poverty of language forbids us to express.

Nor must the benefits which have resulted from the introduction of the gospel be wholly estimated by the numbers whose names are enrolled as members of our society. Thousands besides these have found their condition softened, and have felt occasional impressions of divine grace upon their hearts. The seed which has been already sown may be ripening to a fruitful harvest, which will be reaped in future years, when Ethiopia shall more fully stretch forth her hands unto God; for on such occasions is this saying remarkably fulfilled, "one man soweth, and another reapeth." The pious conduct of the faithful diffuses an influence which baffles all calculation; it is the salt of the earth,—it is a light in a benighted land,—or a city set upon a hill which

cannot be hidden; through which even the profane may be led to glorify the Father of every mercy, from whom every good and perfect gift descends.

In a political view, without all doubt, the advantages have been both great and many. The gospel frequently acts as a preventive of mischief, where its positive agency is scarcely perceptible; and in this, and other islands, it may have laid an embargo on those rebellious spirits which were ripe for insurrection and revolt. By directing the slave to the future recompense of reward, the tumult of his passions may have been quelled; and he may have been led to sustain his lot with fortitude, and to proceed with cheerfulness and vigor to the faithful discharge of those duties which his station imposed, but which he had heretofore been compelled to prosecute with reluctance and disgust. These circumstances have given energy to their exertions; so that their obedience has, ultimately, arisen from principle rather than the whip.

Nor are the above considerations the mere conjectures of a prolific fancy. Among the members of our society in Antigua, in many instances, they have been demonstrated by the most unquestionable facts. The affections of multitudes have been detached from all earthly hopes, by the brighter prospects of those glories which they hoped to realize at the resurrection of the just. A life of integrity, they have been uniformly instructed to believe, was inseparable from that character which should attain to the blessed inheritance. This, therefore, from a sense of duty, and a dictate of interest, they have cordially adopted and practised, and expected their restitution beyond the grave.

And hence we obtain also no contemptible evidence that religion is a divine reality. The passive virtues of cold philosophy, even admitting that these men had attained them, are insignificant and contemptible, when compared with Christian resignation. To these slaves the former were unattainable; and if they were possessed, they could not possibly produce those effects which in these colonies are too evident to require proof. Their resignation and peaceable submission are too conspicuous to be denied. In no case could these be produced by philosophy; and much less in a state of absolute slavery. And hence, since these facts are visible, and could not have started into existence without a cause, we must conclude, that they are the produce of divine grace reigning and ruling in the human heart.

Of these important truths the planters in this island seem

to have been well aware. And hence, almost from its earliest settlement, they have given countenance to the gospel. "It is to the honor of Antigua," says Mr. Edwards, when speaking of the Moravian Brethren, "that its inhabitants "have encouraged, in a particular manner, the laudable "endeavors of certain pious men who have undertaken, "from the purest and best of motives, to enlighten the minds "of the negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of reli-"gious truth." And to this remark, we may justly add, that since their adoption of this principle the inhabitants have felt it for their interest also; and they have found their account in the faithfulness of their slaves, and in that domestic tranquillity which has uniformly prevailed in the island.

Let it not be thought that the preceding remark is made with any design to lessen that praise which is so justly their due. This cannot be. Disinterestedness must, primarily, have marked their conduct. The benefits which have since resulted must be considered as a subsequent event, of which they could originally have known nothing but through the medium of those calculations, which, from the principles and effects of the gospel, are placed within the reach of all. The favor, therefore, which the inhabitants of Antigua manifested towards the preaching of the gospel could not have been selfish, though even in a political view they have had their reward.

Upon the whole, we have reason to expect, that the period will soon arrive when all shall know God, from the least to the greatest, and when the isles shall wait for his law. Then shall righteousness cover the earth as the waters the great deep; then shall men love like brethren, and the nations of the earth shall learn war no more. May God grant that the happy moment may soon arrive for his name and mercy's sake.

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